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KAHERDIN AND CAMILLE THE SOURCES OF EILHART'S *TRISTRANT*

In her study of the sources of the *Tristan* Miss Gertrude Schoepperle came to the conclusion that the original French *Tristan* romance ended with the return of the lovers from the forest and the death of *Tristan* at the hands of King Mark.¹ She believed the whole series of incidents from the return from the forest to *Tristan's* death, as we have it in the poetic versions, to be a continuation added in the second half of the twelfth century. She saw in this late compilation, which she called the *estoire*, the source of Eilhart's German version, *Béroul* (except the Continuation), *Thomas*, and the *Folie de Berne*. Eilhart's poem, in her opinion, although not authoritative in every detail, is in general a faithful reproduction of the *estoire*.² Thus she rejected the theory of the unity of the *poème primitif*, the most important contribution of Messrs. Bédier and Golther.

Miss Schoepperle was led to her conclusion primarily, it would seem, by her discovery in the latter part of Eilhart's poem of episodes which show the influence of the courtly literature that only came into vogue in North France, according to the commonly accepted view, in the time of Eleanor of Poitou.³ No one has seriously questioned the presence of courtly traits in Eilhart's version, yet there has been no general acceptance of Miss Schoepperle's theory of the development of the romance, and objection has been made to her late date for the

¹ *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfort and London, 1913), pp. 445 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

poem from which the extant poetic versions seem to derive.¹ Mr. R. S. Loomis, in a recent article in which he attempts to prove Breri the author of the French archetype,² finds Miss Schoeppele's arguments for the late date of the courtly love elements in the *estoire* unconvincing. He believes such elements present in the romance from the beginning; Breri is the man who first mingled "colorful Celtic fantasy with the Provençal idealisation of love." He would place the date of Breri's work in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

It is the purpose of the discussion that follows to show that certain features of Eilhart's account of the outwitting of Kaherdin by Camille were borrowed from the romances of *Thèbes* and *Enéas*, and, consequently, that Miss Schoeppele's dating of the *estoire* was correct; but that this borrowing was done, not by the creator of the portion of the poem in which it occurs, but by a redactor—further, that the remaining courtly elements in this incident were introduced by the same or a later redactor. If this be true, courtly traits elsewhere in Eilhart may be due to redactors, perhaps the same redactor, and the original poem may have been free of courtly influence. Miss Schoeppele's strongest argument against the unity of the archetype would then lose its validity. While Eilhart's French source, i.e., the *estoire*, is of the latter half of the twelfth century, the source of the *estoire*, the archetype, may have been considerably earlier. Of the French *Tristan* romances, besides Eilhart, possibly *Béroul* and certain parts of MS 103 of the Prose Romance may go back to the *estoire*; *Thomas* and the Prose Romance, except MS 103 and its derivatives, seem to be based upon the archetype.

The story of Kaherdin and Camille as Eilhart relates it is, briefly, as follows:

After the meeting on the highway *Tristan* and his companion Kaherdin arrived as agreed at the Queen's tent at Blanche Lande. The Queen received *Tristan* and sent Kaherdin to Camille. Kaherdin at once began to seek the favor of Camille. But Camille would have none of him: she is no peasant girl to be won with so brief a wooing. Indeed, she intends never to take a lover. If he had been five years in her service, obedient to her every wish, he would not have gained

¹ Cf. F. Lot's review in *Romania*, XLIII (1914), 128; E. Vinaver, *Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory* (Paris, 1925), p. 91.

² *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX (1924), 319 ff.

what he seeks. But, she concludes, if he were her countryman and of equal rank, and agreeable to her kinsmen, she might take him; he is such a seemly fellow.

Kaherdin was at his wits' end and would that he had never begun. But now the Queen wished to retire with Tristan. So she told Kaherdin that for Tristan's sake she would give him an *amie* for the night; he might choose either Brangien or Camille. Kaherdin hesitated, for he thought the Queen might not be in earnest; but finally convinced, he thanked her and chose Camille.

Now, while Kaherdin, upon his bed, was having his shoes taken off, Camille went to the Queen and asked if it were really her desire that she should lose her honor. The Queen answered "No," and told her to take the pillow, which she (the Queen) kept under her head when she longed for Tristan and could not sleep, and to lay it under Kaherdin's head; then she would have nothing to fear, for he would sleep soundly. So Kaherdin was deceived.

When he awoke next morning and discovered how he had been tricked he was much put to shame, but he had yet to endure the taunts of Camille. He was so vexed that if his ears had been cut off not a drop of blood would have come out of them.¹

Miss Schoepperle compared this story with the type of courtly lyric known as the *pastourelle*, of which we have examples from the second half of the twelfth century, and pointed out a number of resemblances. She concluded that the *Tristrant* incident had been composed under the influence of the courtly lyric and offered it as evidence of the late date of the *estoire*.²

We cannot deny that certain features of the incident, those contained in the dialogue between Kaherdin and Camille, recall the *pastourelle*, although, as Ferdinand Lot said in his review of Miss Schoepperle, we need not necessarily postulate a *pastourelle* because a maid rebuffs a presumptuous gallant and tells him that she is no peasant girl to yield to such hasty wooing.³ But whatever the ultimate

¹ Ed., Lichtenstein, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, Vol. XIX, II. 6660-6804. I have shown in my unpublished dissertation, *The Courtly Elements in Eilhart von Oberge's "Tristrant"* (Chicago, 1925), chap. I, that Lichtenstein's text follows closely the original of Eilhart's poem. J. Van Dam (*Zur Vorgeschichte des höfischen Epos* [Bonn and Leipzig, 1923], pp. 40 ff.) came to the same conclusion.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

³ *Loc. cit.* See also the Tarcon-Camille incident in the *Enées* discussed below.

source of these features be, and it may have been a *pastourelle*, their immediate source seems to have been the *Roman de Thèbes*. The poet of *Thèbes* relates how Queen Jocaste, accompanied by her daughters Antigone and Ysmeine, and on her way to a parley with the Greeks, meets a party of knights, among them Parthonopeus. Antigone and Parthonopeus fall in love at sight. Parthonopeus approaches and salutes Antigone courteously, but a knight accompanying the ladies answers in their stead. Parthonopeus, not to be thwarted, addresses the princess again. We quote the dialogue that then takes place, and compare with it the passages from *Eilhart* which correspond:

Parthonopeus pas ne s'oblie
Mout li prée qu'el seit s'amie:

“Par Deu, ço respont la pucèle,
“Cestre amor serreit trop isnèle.
“Pucèle sué, fille de rei:
“Legiérement amer ne dei,
“Ne dei amer par legerie,
“Dont l'on puésse dire folie.
“Ensi deit on preier bergières
“Et ces autres femmes legières.
“Ne vos conois n'once ne vos vi
“Ne mais ore que vos vei ci:
“Se or vos doign d'amer parole,
“Bien me poez tenir por fole.

“Por ço nel di, celer nel quier,
“Ne vos eüsse fortment chier,
“Se estiez de tel lignage
“Que vos fussiez de mon parage,
“Et ço fust chose destinee

Do begunde der here Kehenis
zu Gymelen minne suchen
do enwolde sie es nicht ruchen.
idoch en liz her des nit,
ez were ir leit adir lip,
vaste he ir ane lach.
die vrouwe do zu im sprach
‘wa tut' ir hen uwirn sin?
ja set ir wol daz ich nicht bin
eine geburinne

daz ir mich bittet umme minne
in so gar korzir zit:
ich wene ir ein gebur sit.
wie mochte ez anders geschin?

“ich rate uch uf die truwe min
daz ir ez nimmir werdet lut:
ja enwil ich nimmir kein trut.
daz sage ich uch vor war:
hetet ir ouch vunf jar
zu allen mime bote stan,
dennoch werez ungetan
des ir gewugit wedir mich.”
do bedachte die vrouwe sich
und sprach do her wedere
‘ir dunket mich so bedirwe,
weret ir min lantman
und mir wol genozsam

"Qu'a femme vos fusse donnee
 "Car beaus estes sor tote gent
 "One ne vi mais home tant gent."¹
 "Parlez en," fait ele, "o ma mère,
 "Et par le conseil de mon frère,
 "Qui voz parenz conoist et vos
 "Seit acordez li plaiž de nos.
 "Se il l'agrément, jo l'otrei."²

und gevilez minen vrunden
 daz sie uch min wol gunden
 und uns daz gezeme,
 ich wene ich uch wol neme.³

The resemblance between the two passages is striking. Situation, elements of the narrative, even the order of these elements are almost identical: (1) a strange knight approaches a lady and without more ado asks her love; (2) the lady refuses and rebukes him for his haste; (3) why so fast? (4) She is no shepherdess (peasant girl) that he should thus seek her love; (5) but if he were her equal in rank, (6) for he is such a seemly fellow, and (7) if her relatives agreed, (8) she might take him. It seems impossible to doubt kinship between the two passages. Unless we are to assume a common source, for which we find no justification, one poet must have imitated the other. Of the two, the *Tristant* poet is more probably the imitator, and for the following reasons:

1. We know that the romance of *Thèbes* is one of the oldest of the French romances. In its treatment of love it shows only slight traces of courtly influence; love, in fact, does not play a conspicuous part in the romance. In manner it is still close to the earlier *chansons de geste*. In many episodes of the *Tristant*, on the other hand, we have, as Miss Schoepperle has shown, a very evident attempt of the poet to make his story conform to the courtly ideal. Consequently, other things being equal, we should expect the *estoire* to be of later date than the *Thèbes*.

2. In the passage from *Thèbes* it is not surprising to find Antigone intimating that she might after all accept the love of Parthonopeus, if his rank, etc., were satisfactory; for the author has already told us that she fell in love with him at sight, and later she does accept him as her lover. But why should the *Tristant* poet let Camille also intimate that she might accept Kaherdin? There has been no preparation

¹ *Roman de Thèbes* (L. Constans ed.; Paris, 1890), Vol. I, ll. 3919-40.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 3945-49.

³ Ed. Lichtenstein (referred to hereafter as O), ll. 6672-6702.

for such a remark on her part, nor does she ever grant Kaherdin her favor; on the contrary, she calls upon the queen to save her honor and defends herself with the magic pillow, as the story demands. Thus in Eilhart, Camille's remark simply hangs in the air without connection either with what precedes or follows. The explanation seems obvious: The *Tristrant* poet took over the dialogue between Antigone and Parthonopeus as he found it, failing to notice the inconsistency that he thereby introduced into his own story.

We shall consider later Camille's declaration that she will never take a lover, and her reference to long and obedient love-service, the one point at which the *Tristrant* and *Enéas* accounts of the dialogue differ materially.

Other traits in the Kaherdin-Camille incident which Miss Schoepperle would explain by the *pastourelle*, the ruse by which Camille escapes and her taunting of the would-be lover next morning, much more probably come from a popular tale of the outwitted-gallant type, a tale which Miss Schoepperle herself recognizes as the basis of our incident. In her discussion of popular tradition in the *estoire* Miss Schoepperle cites a number of examples of the type from various countries and periods.¹ Its chief features as they appear in folk-tales are: A gallant seeks the love of a maid against her will; the maid decides to outwit him. They come to the meeting place, but by means of a charm she puts him to sleep. Next morning she taunts him with his failure.² Here we plainly have the essential elements of the Kaherdin-Camille incident. There is thus no necessary connection between the incident and courtly literature. Such an outwitted-gallant story, plus the passage from *Thébes* and the reference to love-service, are sufficient to explain Eilhart's version—with one exception, the figure of Camille, which we shall now take up.

Camille is an intriguing figure in the *Tristrant*. She appears suddenly and unheralded in the middle of the story, and disappears just as suddenly a few scenes later; and she plays a rôle which from the preceding portions of the poem we should expect to fall to Brangien.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.

² Cf. the Swedish, Danish, and Scotch ballads cited by Child, *The English and Scotch Popular Ballads* (Boston and New York, 1886-89), I, 390 ff. See also variant F of the ballad of Broomfield Hill, *ibid.* Miss Schoepperle (p. 258) also cites a similar tale from J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1890), I, 36 ff. Miss Schoepperle gives an excellent Bibliography.

It is not strange, therefore, that scholars should long since have expressed the opinion that she does not belong in the *Tristan*.¹ The suggestion has been made that she is related to the lady of the same name in the *Enéas*,² but, as far as the writer is aware, no one has collected the material that bears upon the point. We shall now attempt to do this.

Camille makes her entry into the *Tristrant* in the train of the Queen at Blanche Lande, at the meeting arranged by Tristan to convince Kaherdin of the beauty of Isolt and of her love. Our Kaherdin-Camille incident forms the conclusion of this episode. From their hiding-place in a thornbush the two heroes watch the procession pass: cooks with their pots and pans; hunters, etc.; at length the King; the chamberlains of the Queen with their attendants; and, finally, one after the other, three beautiful ladies, each more beautiful than the preceding: first, Camille of Schitriele; next, Brangien; last, and of course most beautiful of all, the Queen. Kaherdin, amazed by their beauty, takes each in turn for the Queen.³ We know from Miss Schoepperle's study⁴ that this episode as related by Eilhart is essentially a combination of (1) the Chievrefoil motif of a meeting which the lover secures with his mistress almost under the eyes of her husband, and (2) the story of the lover's boast of his distant mistress.⁵ Neither motif is necessarily related to courtly literature. The climax of motif (2) is the appearance before the judges of the fairy mistress, dazzlingly beautiful. As in the *Tristrant*, the effect of the lady's beauty is heightened by the arrival before her of a number of attendants each of whom is herself so beautiful as to be taken in turn for the lady. When the latter finally arrives, young and old press forward to see her.⁶

Turning now to the *Enéas*,⁷ we find that it is in a train, similarly described in detail, that the Camille of the *Enéas* first appears, in the

¹ W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 80; E. Kölbing, *Tristrans Saga ok Isondar* (Heilbronn, 1878), p. cxxxix; Kelemina, *Untersuchungen zur Tristansage*, Teutonia XVI (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 42, 50.

² See W. A. Nitze, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII (1914), 448.

³ O, II. 6402 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff.

⁵ Cf. Marie de France's *Laaval*, and *Graalent*.

⁶ Cf. Marie's *Laaval* (ed. Warnke), II. 473 ff.

⁷ Ed. Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891), II. 3909 ff.

military train which arrives to aid Turnus in driving out the Trojans. One after the other the chieftains are described as they pass, and finally the climax of the incident is reached with the arrival of the Amazon Camille, on whose beauty, dress, and mount the poet dwells with especial delight. Her appearance causes a tumult in the city; everyone wants a look at the lady "ki tant ert proz et tant ert bele." The very evident similarity of this scene in the *Enéas* to his source may have suggested to the *Tristrant* poet the addition of Camille to his galaxy of beauties. As Mr. Bédier says, "la loi de ce joli motif poétique veut que le conteur tire plusieurs fois parti de l'émerveillement croissant de ses personnages."¹ The latter would also make more impressive the beauty of his own heroine by introducing—in a secondary rôle, as her attendant—one of the most brilliant figures of the great literary success of the day. For such the *Enéas* undoubtedly was.

The kinship between *Tristrant* and *Enéas* is still more apparent in the Kaherdin-Camille incident. The starting-point of this incident, we recall, was a story in which the lady repels the advances of a suitor and defends herself by means of a pillow or some other sleeping charm. Now, like the Camille of the *Tristrant*, the Amazon Camille of the *Enéas* is averse to gallant adventure, in fact, to love at all:

Le jor ert reis, la nuit reine;
ja chamberiere ne meschine
environ lie le jor n'alast,
ne la nuit nule oem n'i entrast
dedenz la chambre o ele esteit.²

Here in the *Enéas* we find perhaps the source of Camille's declaration in Eilhart that she will never have a lover. This trait, it will be recalled, was missing in the *Thèbes* account of the dialogue.

Camille of the *Enéas*, too, is approached by an outspoken suitor, Tarcon, who addresses her thus:

En bele chanbre soz cortine
fait buen combatre o tel meschine.
Venistes ça por vos mostrer?
Ge ne vos voil pas achater;
por tant blanche vos vei et bloie;
quatre deniers ai ci de Troie,
ki sont molt buen de fin or tuit;
cels vos donrai por mon deduit
une piece mener o vos ...³

¹ J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas* (Paris, 1902), I, 335.

² Ed. Salverda de Grave, II, 3977-81.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 7087-95.

She replies in no uncertain terms:

Ne vinc pas ça por moi mostrer
 ne por putage demener,
 mais por faire chevalerie.
 De vos deniers ne voil ge mie,
 trop avez fait fole bargaigne;
 ge ne vif pas de tel guaaigne.¹

Finally, Camille of the *Enéas* has a pillow made from the feathers of the miraculous bird *calade*.²

The resemblance between the two Camilles is obvious, and in the similarity of *Enéas* and the *Tristrant* sources we now see why the *Tristrant* poet might have thought of borrowing the figure for his story. The author of the *Enéas* cannot have been the borrower; his narrative is based upon his source, Vergil's *Aeneid*.³ On the other hand, there are a number of reasons for believing that the *Tristrant* poet was the borrower; but that this poet was a redactor, not the creator of the romance.

As we have already said, Camille has no place in the *Tristrant*. It is Brangien, Miss Schoepperle admitted,⁴ who would naturally have had the part of the maid in the outwitting of Kaherdin in the older tradition. She had been the Queen's attendant and confidante from the beginning. We have referred to Camille's sudden appearance in the story at Blanche Lande. In the last scene in which we meet her, the second tryst at Blanche Lande, she is so obviously out of place that the poet considers it necessary to tell us that Brangien is dead, before he relates his story.⁵ It is difficult to believe the creator of the Tristan poem responsible for so colorless an exit of one of his most important characters. Further, Brangien, early in the story, in the account of the substitution in the marriage bed,⁶ had shown herself jealous of her honor and had yielded only after repeated pleading of the Queen. Certainly it is she that we should expect in the rôle of the decorous maid here. Again, we have referred to the inconsistency between Camille's remark in her dialogue with Kaherdin that under certain conditions she might accept his suit, and the outwitted-gallant story, which, we must not forget, is the basic motif of the incident.

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 7117-22.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 7461 ff. Cf. Camille's reputation as an enchantress in later medieval literature. According to Bruce (*The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* [Göttingen, 1923], 1, 410), this probably goes back to the *Enéas*.

³ VII, 647 ff. Cf. Salverda de Grave, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. xlix.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁵ O, ll. 7560 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 2760 ff.

This clearly points to interpolation of at least this portion of Camille's rôle. And there is still another inconsistency in Eilhart's narrative that suggests that Camille has been substituted for Brangien: In the procession at Blanche Lande, Brangien was not only described as more beautiful than Camille, but Kaherdin showed his preference for her:

do geduchte Kehenise
an allem ir gebere
daz sie vele schoner were
den Gymele die da vor reit.
iz were im lip adir leit,
he muste ir doch den pris lan.¹

Why, then, in our incident should it be Camille that he chooses for his *amie* and not Brangien? Finally, Thomas, in his version of the *Tristan*, relates the incident of the deception of Kaherdin, but says nothing of Camille; it is Brangien who plays the rôle of the maid.²

For these reasons we feel justified in regarding Camille as a secondary development in our incident, and, for that matter, in the *Tristan* altogether. Introduced originally to add luster to the procession at Blanche Lande, the redactor, noting her resemblance to the *spröde* Brangien, kept her for his cushion story.³

As for the passage from the romance of *Thèbes*, the dialogue between Kaherdin and Camille, the following considerations indicate that it, also, is an interpolation: In the first place, Camille alone is concerned in it; Brangien does not appear. Second, it is not closely related to the chief motif of the incident, the magic-pillow story; the story would be complete without it, and would better begin with Isolt's offer to Kaherdin of an *amie*, i.e., after the dialogue. Further, and most important, Camille's remark that under conditions she might accept Kaherdin points, we have already seen, plainly to interpolation.

The long and faithful love-service to which Camille refers in the dialogue is a commonplace of courtly literature. Its connection with what precedes and follows is extremely loose—it does not appear in

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 6488 ff.

² Cf. the Norse *Saga* (ed. Kölbing), chap. lxxxvii. Thomas alters the outcome of the incident by making Kaherdin finally—on the third night—successful. The French Prose *Tristan* has omitted the incident.

³ In another article I hope to show that Isolt's celebrated love-monologue in the first part of Eilhart's poem also derives from the *Énéas*.

the *Thèbes* account, on which the *Tristrant* was drawing, at all. It belongs with the dialogue. Its existence in the poem apart from the dialogue is obviously out of the question. If the dialogue was interpolated, the "love-service" was added, either at the same time or later.

Thus all the features which associate Eilhart's version of the story of Kaherdin and Camille with courtly literature appear to have been interpolated, and what is true of this incident may, of course, be true of others. In the original version of the incident, in the primitive French *Tristan* romance, we should possibly have found a story based upon the folk-tale of the outwitted gallant, with Brangien in the rôle of the maid, as in *Thomas*.

If the traits that we have discussed come from the romances of *Thèbes* and *Enéas*, then the *Tristrant* was, of course, written after those two romances. By the *Tristrant* we mean Eilhart's French source, the *estoire*. It might be suggested that Eilhart himself is responsible for the presence of these traits in his poem, but this is extremely improbable. It is generally recognized that Eilhart followed his source closely.¹ He occasionally condensed and omitted, but practically never added. Moreover, we know from MS 103 of the prose *Tristan*, where she appears,² that Camille was already present in the French tradition. MS 103 is here probably following the version of the *estoire*.³ Recent investigation⁴ indicates that Eilhart translated his *Tristrant* in the early 1170's. The date of the French *estoire* would then be the 1160's.

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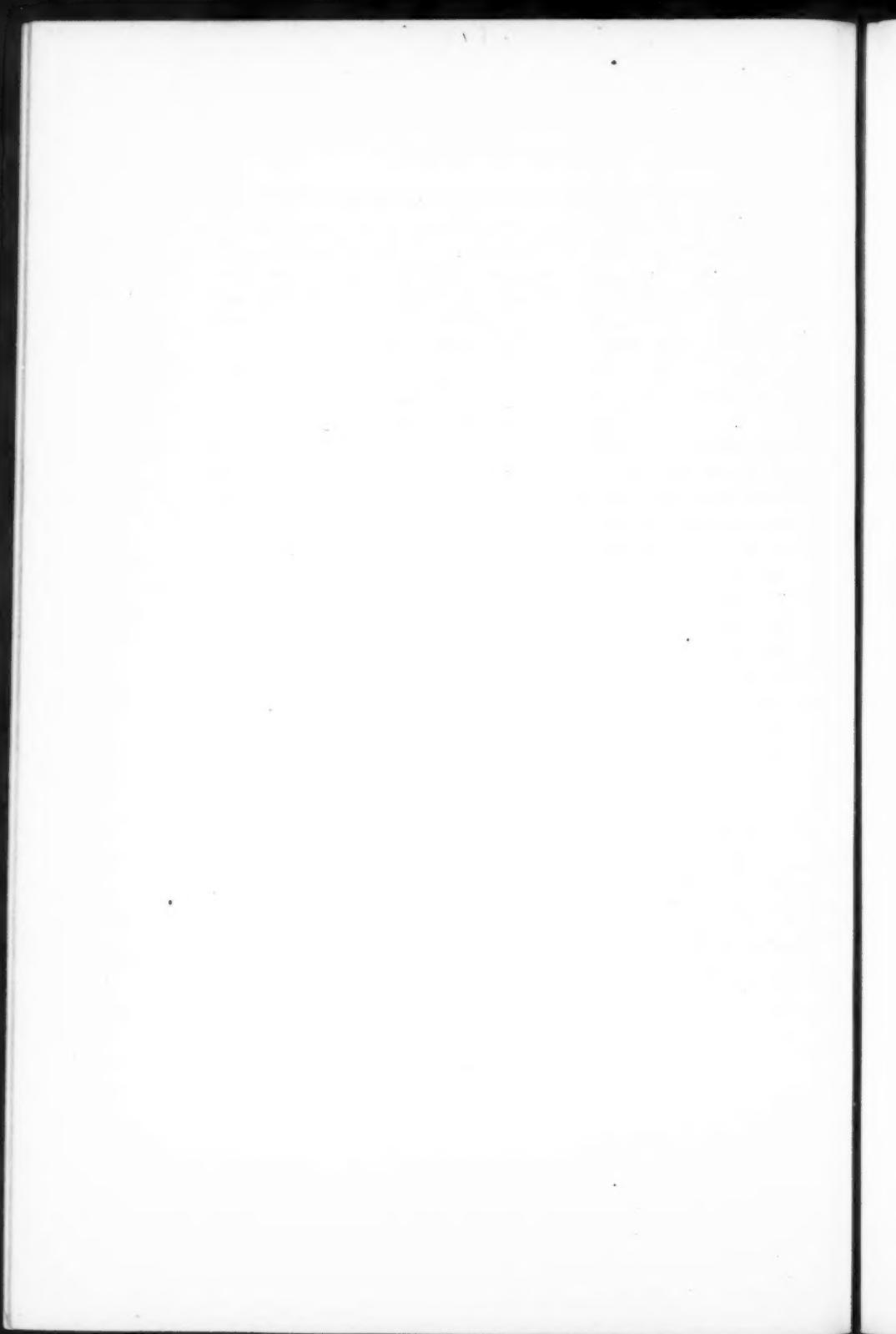
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¹ Cf. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. cxx; W. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Miss Schoepfle, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

² Cf. J. Bédier, *op. cit.* (Paris, 1905), II, 376.

³ I.e., what has been known in the past as the Béroul-Eilhart version. Cf. J. Bédier, *Romania*, XV (1886), 482 ff.; W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung. Programm des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Hamburg* (1897), p. 26; W. Golther, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴ K. Wagner, *Eilhart von Oberg Tristrant*, I (Bonn and Leipzig, 1924), pp. 6 ff.; J. Van Dam, *Zur Vorgeschichte des höfischen Epos* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), pp. 85 ff.



ALMAIN AND ERMONIE AS TRISTAN'S HOME

In a previous paper published in *Modern Philology* (XXII, 159 ff.) I proved Loenois, i.e., the Pictish territory of Lothian, to have been Tristan's home in the common source of the Vulgate redactions (Eilhart, Berol, Prose), and concluded by stating that this version is considered by all scholars as being far more reliable than the Thomas version, so that it may be taken for granted that Loenois was Tristan's home also in the *poème primitif*. The probability of this view is raised almost to certainty, if we take into consideration the fact that Tristan himself and his father have Pictish names.¹

The Thomas version gives different names for Tristan's home. In *Sir Tristrem* we are told that, when Tristrem had slain Morgan and subdued his country, "Al com to his hand Almain and Ermonie" (905-6). This passage is not quite clear. Was Almain besides Ermonie, which is attested by the German and the Norse translation as well, the hero's heritage or was it Morgan's duchy? It is mentioned only here, while Ermonie is named previously five times. The hero's father is called "the child of Ermonie" (74). Tristrem was born in Hermonie (532). At Mark's court he has a longing to go there (762). He actually goes there (807) and thence to Duke Morgan, from whom he claims "mine hirritage Hermonie" (849). However, in the other two Thomas redactions Morgan is a *Breton* and his country, *Bretaigne*, is not taken possession of by Tristan. This fact renders it more likely that Almain was not Morgan's duchy, but was, like Ermonie, occupied by Tristan as his heritage, and that the English minstrel had merely forgotten to mention Almain at an earlier place as one of the countries of Tristan's father. This oblivion would be quite in harmony with the unlogical desultory style of the English minstrel. The view that Almain was, as well as Ermonie, a possession of Tristan's father, is greatly strengthened, nay is rendered practically sure, by the fact

¹ About M. J. Loth's opposition to this statement (in his *Contributions*) cf. my review in *Zeitschrift f. frz. Spr.*, XLVII, 231 f. About the name of Tristan's father cf. my article in *Herrig's Archiv*, CXXIX, 134 ff.

that the German version also mentions two countries as once belonging to Tristan's father, one of which was Ermenie (*Parmenie*), while the other is unnamed (329, 5623). The unnamed country cannot have been *Lohnois*, which the poet knew as being Tristan's home in the Vulgate version (cf. my former article, p. 162). It is likely that it was *Almain*. The fact that at the very place where the English version mentions Almain and Ermonie as becoming Tristan's property, Gottfried says: "Hie mite was Tristande Sin lehen und sin sunderlant Verlihen uz sin selbes hant" (5623 ff.), seems to me to prove that Almain cannot have been Morgan's country, but must have been a second country that once belonged to Tristan's father. The disagreement of the Norse version is of no account because the latter is here in any case corrupt, since it represents Ermenia as a town. We are no doubt fully justified in ascribing to Thomas both the feature that Tristan's father had two countries one of which was Ermenie and the other not Loenois, and the other feature that he held one of them as a fief from Morgan;¹ but it would have been unnatural if Thomas had given a name only to one of the two countries. Now there is a priori certainly no ground for suspecting the genuineness of the name (apart from the form) recorded in the English version for the second country. M. Bédier indeed treats Almain as "une bourde de plus à imputer au conteur anglais" (I, 30; II, 109). This seems to be poor criticism, for M. Bédier has not shown anywhere that this minstrel was wont to make *bourdes* of this kind. He is certainly wrong in thinking that Almain was meant to be Morgan's duchy. He has altogether overlooked the striking agreement of the English and the German translation at the very same place.² He himself, in his reconstruction of the Thomas version, has not seldom accepted the English translation in preference to the two others, if the latter did not show a positive agreement. We are just as much justified in preferring Almain as in the English translation.

If Loenois is accepted as Tristan's home in the original poem, are we to exclude both Almain and Ermonie? Are they, by that very fact, proved to be changes introduced by Thomas? Not necessarily, since

¹ M. Bédier admits of this in his reconstruction.

² The agreement is partly even verbal: "Al com to his hand Almain and Ermonie" (905-6)—"Hie mite was Tristande Sin lehen und sin sunderlant Verlihen uz sin selbes hant. . . . Er hante do se siner hant Sines vater erbe and al sin lant" (5623-34).

it is perfectly admissible that Tristan's father was ruler over more than one country.¹ However, one condition has to be fulfilled by those two countries, provided they be admitted as equally primitive as Loenois: They must be neighboring countries to Loenois, i.e., to Lothian, or have such a situation that their being united with Loenois under a common ruler could appear plausible. I am now going to examine what countries may be designated by those names, and will, for practical reasons, begin with Ermenie.

I. ERMENIE

The forms of the name recorded in our extant texts are (cf. Bédier, I, 2): Ermenia (Saga; here a town in "southern Bretland"), Ermonie-Hermonie (*Sir Tristrem*), Armonie-Armenye (Low German fragment), *Parmenie* (Gottfried). The archetype of the Thomas redaction probably had Ermenie: *o* for *e* is a common graphical variant; *er>ar* is dialectic; *P* is probably a graphical distortion of *H*.² Ermonie is also admissible as the form used in the archetype.

The reader of the texts must get the impression that neither Thomas nor his translators had a definite idea which country was meant by Ermenie. So much, however, seems to be plain that their indications point to the Continent: to Brittany or to its neighborhood.

The Saga, the most reliable of the translations, calls Ermenia a town and a port in Bretland, more exactly in *syðri Bretland* (chap. xxiv). Since the most southern part of insular *Bretaigne*, Cornwall, is in this text always called *Kornbretaland* and is treated as a province of England (chap. ii) or as bordering on England (chap. xxiii), southern

¹ Two translations of Thomas, as we saw, give Tristan's father two countries. In *Durmari Josefens* is "rois de Gales et des Danois" (vs. 449; *Danemarcke* was his wife's dowry). Galehot had conquered thirty kingdoms (*Lancelot*, I, 201); to King Rother seventy-two kings were subject, etc. We know that in medieval history there were many cases of more than one country being under a common ruler. M. Bédier (II, 194) rejected not only Almain, but also Ermonie, because, in his scheme, *y* (=Berol-Eilhart), Thomas and the Prose are independent redactions, so that the agreement of any two of them overrules the third (II, 192 f.). I doubt very much the correctness of this scheme, the practical results of which are that *y* is almost always preferred, because, if it is different from the Prose, it is considered as superior, and Prose and Thomas never agree in opposition to *y*. I still cling to the old view that *y* and Prose form together the Vulgate and Thomas is formally co-ordinated to the latter. A criticism of M. Bédier's scheme is to be found in Professor R. Zenker, "Die Tristansage und das persische Epos von Wls und Rämlin," *Rom. Forschungen*, XXIX, 328 ff.

² Cf. *Pasquitan>Aquitian*, *Equitan* (hero of a lay) (explained by myself in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XLIX, 240 f.), and *Errotc* (York), variant *Euryu* in *Chrétiens Erec* (vs. 2131) > *Prurin* in Hartmann's version, vs. 2353 (intermediate form probably with *H*).

Bretland in the Saga cannot mean anything else but Brittany (cf. the same meaning of *Sytri Bretland* in the "Guimars ljod," *Strengeleikar*, No. 1¹). This Bretland, the country of Tristram and of his father Kanelangres (chap. i), is said to be distant (*fjarlægt*, chap. x) from the country of King Markis, which is England, Kornbretaland included; and to pass from Kornbretaland to *syðri Bretland* a sea-voyage was necessary (chaps. i, xiv, xxiv, xxv). Kanelangres is, however, not the ruler of the whole country called Bretland, but only of a portion of it. His enemy, Duke Morgan, whose subjects are called Bretar (Britons) (chaps. xiii, xxv), is his liege lord (chaps. i, xxiv, xxv). We are told that the Norwegian merchants who landed in Bretland could not speak either *brezku* (British) or *völsku* (French), and could therefore not converse with the inhabitants (chap. xviii). Obviously the inhabitants of Bretland knew French, and only French, besides British, i.e., Bretland, was Brittany. The part of Bretland that had belonged to Kanelangres and was reconquered by Tristram, above all the town Ermenia, was bestowed by Tristram on Roald (chap. xxv) and was inherited by the sons of the latter (chap. lxviii). After having related a visit of Tristram to his home, i.e., to that district of Bretland, the Norse translator goes on to say that this Bretland had at that time as ruler an old duke, one of whose sons was Kardin (chap. lxix). We see here that the Saga, at least implicitly, identifies the Bretland of Duke Morgan with the Bretland of the old duke who according to the Vulgate redaction is called Hoel and resides at Carahes (Carhaix) in Brittany. There can be no doubt, then, that for the author of the Saga, Ermenia, Tristram's home, was a town and port in Brittany. Tristram was therefore a Breton as well as his enemy, Duke Morgan. *Bretland*, in all the passages mentioned here, means Brittany.² It extends as far as the fjall Michaelis (Mont Saint-Michel, chap. lxxviii), and the son of its ruler, Kardin, conquers Namtersborg (Nantes, chap. lxxiv).

The English translation does not go so much into details as the Saga, is more vague in its geographical indications, but generally con-

¹ Cf., too, what Wright says of an Anglo-Saxon map: "In Armorica for instance the author has placed the people, whom he calls in Saxon *Sudbrettas*" (quoted in Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, p. 146).

² But in another passage (chap. xlv), where the peace concluded between *Irland* and *Bretland* is related, *Bretland* is a synonym of England that is mentioned immediately before (about the various meanings of *Bretaigne* I must refer the reader to my discussion in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XX and XLIV², 78 ff.).

firms, or does not contradict, those about Tristram's home in the Saga. Ermenie is not yet a town. Navigation is necessary for passing from King Mark's court in England to Ermenie or vice versa. Tristrem's father Rouland was a vassal of Duke Morgan (stanza 3), whose country is not named; but so much is sure that it is distinguished from *Bretain*, the country of the duke called in the Vulgate *Hoel*. For, when Tristrem left the country of the sons of *Rohand* (=Roald), i.e., Ermonie (cf. *supra*), "into *Bretain* he ches" (vs. 2641); but this *Bretain*, i.e., Brittany, may have been thought of as adjacent to Ermonie and to the country of Duke Morgan, though this is not expressly stated and though the omission of the mention of a sea-voyage could not surprise us in a text of so desultory a character as is the English *Tristrem*.

Gottfried, in spite of his loquaciousness, is the least clear of the translators. Tristan's father, Riwalin, is an independent ruler of Parmenie; but it was *ein sunderz lant* that he held in fief from *li duc Morgan* (vss. 329-30; cf. Bédier, I, 3, n. 1). In contradiction to this, Gottfried distinguishes in another passage (5623) *sin lehen und sin sunderlant*; for if there the *lehen* was also the *sunderlant*, we should miss the information that Tristan also reconquered his own country. Besides, *sunderlant* cannot have a meaning compatible with the word "fief."¹ Morgan is called *ein Britun* (327 ff.); his subjects are *Britune* (5349, 5365 ff.); his country is *Britanje* (5301, 5313, 5365). Parmenie is situated *jensit Britanje* (3095 f.), from a Cornish standpoint. *Britanje* is here evidently the country of the *Britun* Morgan, from which Parmenie cannot have been far off (5271-5313). People who move from Parmenie to *Kurneval*, which country, together with *Engelant*, was ruled by King Marke (424), or vice versa, go on board a ship (469, 1581, 5172). Tristan journeys from *Almanje* (Germany) via *Normandie* to *Parmenie* (18614 ff.) and thence to a duchy situated *zwischen Britanje und Engelant*, bordering on the sea and called *Arundel* (1869 ff., 18717 ff.); no sea-voyage is mentioned. This duchy in which *Jovelin* (<*Houelin*), (diminutive of *Hoel*), the father of Kaerdin, rules and to which the town *Karke* (<*Carehes*) belongs, clearly corresponds to the *Bretaigne* (=Brittany) of the other translations of Thomas, of Thomas' own text and of the Vulgate redaction. During

¹ In Lexer's dictionary *sunderlant* is translated *besonderes, einzelnes, eigenes Land*.

his stay in the duchy of Arundel¹ Tristan sent for help to *Rual's* (=Roald's) sons, on whom he had bestowed *Parmenie* (18784 ff.). They came with a small army to Karke. No sea-voyage is mentioned either on this occasion or when their home journey is related (18934 ff.). Unless Gottfried did not know what was meant by *Almanje* or *Normandie* (which is impossible), he, too, must have thought *Parmenie* to be a continental country.²

According to the Saga, Ermenie is, as we saw, a portion of the country ruled by Cae(r)din's father, i.e., Brittany, while in the other two Thomas versions it is distinguished from the latter, but seems to be adjacent to it. In all the three versions Tristan's father was a vassal of Morgan, duke of Brittany; but the fief he held from him is, at least explicitly, Ermenie only in the Saga, the latter being in this text the only domain of Tristan's father. M. Bédier gave preference to the German and English versions in his reconstruction of this portion of the Thomas redaction (I, 3). The *sunderlant* would hardly be plausible as a pure invention, while the dropping of it is natural, since, after all, the possession of only one country was to be considered the normal thing.

We may then safely affirm that Thomas either identified Ermenie with a portion of Brittany (Saga) or placed Ermenie somewhere near Brittany (*Sir Tristrem* and Gottfried). I doubt very much, however, if in the latter case he had a particular region in mind, and I doubt still more if his continental localization is primitive, and agree with M. F. Lot,³ who thinks these geographical indications to be erroneous.

¹ Gottfried or Thomas does not seem to have had a clear idea about the situation of Arundel. This was the name of an ancient county in Sussex. E.g., in a summary of English history added to a MS of Wace's *Brut* (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, II, cxix), *la dame (comtesse) d'Arondel* is mentioned as being married to *Jehan sans terre* (afterward king of England). In *Durmart* (vs. 6703) a certain *quens Braiaine* [*< Briens?*] *d'Arondel* is among the princes who take part in a tournament. In the pseudo-historic *Suite Merlin*, *Arondel* is also wrongly localized; for it is in *Cornouaille par devers Bredigan* (cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XXXI, 272), and belongs to *la terre le roi Yder de Cornewaille* (ed. Sommer, p. 190/37) (this king is also mentioned in *Durmart*, vs. 6655, with this geographical attribute, which rarely or never occurs elsewhere); but *Cornouaille* in this romance is somewhere in the north of England or in Scotland (probably because *Cornouaille* and *Leonois* were neighboring countries as explained in my first article, pp. 183 f., and *Leonois* was confused with *Loenois* in Scotland); therefore *Arondel* is not very far from *Carduel* (=Carlisle) (pp. 190/10-13, 198/38), or on the border of *Escoce* (198/23: *en la marce d'Escoche al chastel d'Arondel*, not far from *Leonois* (=Lothian) (198/28 ff.) and from *Estrangoire* (*ibid.*) (=Strathmore, cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, Vol. XXVIII), in the country of *Norgales* (probably Cumbria) (160/32 ff.).

² Gottfried also used *Britanje* in the sense of England (e.g., vss. 431 ff.; cf. Hertz, n. 35).

³ *Romania*, XXV, 25.

This scholar says: "On trouve dans Thomas lui-même une contradiction prouvant que Tristan n'est pas un Armorican." He has in mind the passage in one of the Thomas fragments where Tristan, being in *Bretaigne* (=Brittany), says to Kaherdin: "Jo sui en estrange païs" (ed. Bédier, vs. 2396). I may add that a few lines later (vs. 2401) Tristan says: "si en ma terre fuce."¹ This proves indeed that for Thomas, Brittany was not Tristan's country. However, it does not flatly contradict Thomas, but only the Saga, according to which Ermenie is part of Brittany, and with which M. Lot wrongly identified Thomas. Nevertheless it seems to contradict in a less striking way also the version of the English Tristan and Gottfried which, as I think with M. Bédier, here represents Thomas; for no doubt it is strange that Tristan calls the whole of Brittany an *estrange païs*, if one portion of it, though not the one where he then resided, was the fief that he held from a duke of Brittany.

Moreover, when we read the long account of Tristan's stay with Cae(r)din's father in Brittany both in the Thomas fragment and in the translations, it is really impossible to avoid the impression that this country, in which the population and their ruler were so kind to Tristan and in which the son of the ruler became his most intimate friend and the daughter his wife, was not the same *Bretaigne* as the one that had formerly belonged to Morgan, against whom and against whose subjects Tristan and his father had waged bitter wars. But Tristan's home Ermenie was necessarily adjacent to that *Bretaigne* which once belonged to Morgan, since Tristan's father was also ruler of a fief of Morgan's. Therefore, if Morgan's country was originally not Brittany, Tristan's home, the situation of which is determined by that of Morgan's country, can no longer be maintained to have been originally either part of Brittany (Saga) or a region adjacent to Brittany (Gottfried, *Sir Tristrem*). We may add that primitive insular Celtic stories had no interest in continental countries besides Celtic Brittany; therefore Ermenie, not being Brittany, either must once have been an insular territory, or else cannot have been primitive. Thus the contradictions in Thomas' redaction prove that his localization of Ermenie on the Continent is unreliable. Hence we are at

¹ Thomas, vs. 2401, is also to be found in the Saga, chap. xcvi: "Ef ek væra i minu landi."

liberty, nay even bound, to look for Ermenie in the insular Celtic territory.

Formerly, before M. J. Loth had brought forth his Cornish theory,¹ he had proposed to identify Ermenie with the Isle of Man which was once called *Eubonia* (thus, e.g., in Nennius), *Eumania* (in Tigernach's Irish chronicle).² But he had also admitted as a possible etymon the Irish name *Ur-muwan* (=Ormond), Latinized *Ormonia*, *Ermonia* (but these Latin forms are hypothetical). More recently M. Loth,³ under the enticing influence of his Cornish theory, looked for Ermenie in Cornwall, in spite of the fact that our romance clearly states and postulates that Tristan's country is different from Marc's and at a considerable distance from it. He found a place called *Harmony* at the frontier of Devonshire, probably identical with a *manoir* called *Ermenheu-Hirmeneu* (recorded by the *Domesday Book*), the Old Cornish name of which may have been *Hir-moniu*. This *manoir*, then, would have been converted by legend into a country, nay a kingdom (vulgate and archetype).

But M. Loth, like the old scholiast of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* or the author of the *Dindsenchas*, offers us a choice of *causae*: Hermenie might also be *une méprise pour "Henmoniu," lu "Hermoniu"* and designate the region of St. David's, called in Welsh *Mynyw*, in the eighth or ninth century *Moniu*. He thinks this hypothesis to be confirmed by the *Carloon* passage in Berol and Marie's *Chievrefoil*, which I have discussed in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 169 ff. He concludes: "En somme, c'est le Sud-Galles qui paraîtra répondre le mieux aux exigences du roman." M. J. Loth is not aware that this view is hardly compatible with his hypothesis of the Cornish origin of the Tristan legend. For why should a Cornish legend have chosen a Welshman, not a Cornishman, as hero?

Professor Röttiger⁴ drew the attention of his readers to an incident peculiar to the Prose Tristan,⁵ in which Tristan delivered the *pays du Servage*, situated *sur la côte de "Norgales"* (the river *Marse*, mentioned there, is probably the *Mersey*), and thence sailed to *la Petite Bretagne*.

¹ No doubt M. Loth owed this hypothesis to M. Muret, whose article he knew (cf. p. 88, n. 3).

² *Revue celtique*, XVIII, 315 ff.

³ *Contributions*, p. 89.

⁴ *Der heutige Standl. Tristanforschung* (189F), p. 4.

⁵ Löseth, §§ 61 ff.

The Palamedes MS B.N. f. 355, reproducing this incident, contains the additional information that the sailors who steered Tristan's ship, "avaient été pendant sept ans au service du roi de la Grant Hermenie."¹ Professor Röttiger considers this minor trait as original. He thinks that sailors well acquainted with the coast of *Norgales*, where Tristan on his arrival had been shipwrecked, were chosen, and concludes that *Hermenie* was somewhere on the coast of *Norgales*. This argument stands on a rather weak foundation, as the text of MS B.N. fr. 355 is a very late one, and as the passage admits of other explanations. If the author of the passage knew *Hermenie* as Tristan's home, he may have chosen sailors who had been in the service of the king of *Hermenie*, because they were Tristan's countrymen, but then *Hermenie* may have been situated anywhere, e.g., as in the Thomas versions, in or near Brittany, which was the goal of Tristan's voyage. In Thomas, however, Tristan's father was not a king (he was so in the Vulgate and no doubt also in the archetype), and his country was hardly such as to deserve the epithet *grant*. This epithet seems to me to point rather to the oriental *Hermenie*, i.e., Armenia (about the use of the latter in the Old French stories cf. Hertz, *Tristan*, n. 3, and Langlois' *Table*); for oriental towns and countries are often found with that epithet (*Constantinoble la grant*, *Troies la grant*, *Rousie la grant*, *Inde la grant*),² and we actually find *la grant Armenie* twice in Couldrette's *Mellusigne* (vss. 4957, 5767; var. *Ermenie*, vs. 6115) and also in the prose version (p. 24) (=Asiatic Armenia). At least a confusion with Armenia may have taken place and may have given rise both to the epithet and to the conception of *Hermenie* as a kingdom.

M. Muret, in his review of Professor Röttiger's treatise,³ took the latter's suggestion as a starting-point for his explanations of the name *Ermenie*. He therefore turned his attention to Wales. He merely mentioned the view that *Ermenie* might be St. David's (Myndw, Menevia) in South-Wales, and proposed as an explanation of his own the identification with Carnarvon in North-Wales, referring to a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis: "Kairarvon id est castrum de Arvon. Dicitur

¹ *Ibid.*, § 640.

² Only in the *Suite Merlin*, BN 337, I find exceptions to this rule: *Claellus de Northumberlande la grant* (p. 38), *roi Lac d'Oranie la grant* (p. 37); but no doubt in both cases the adjective was added, because in the same list of knights we also find *li rois Loth d'Oranie* and *li rois Clariens de Northumberlante*, and a distinction was desirable.

³ *Rom.*, XXVII, 608 f.

autem Arvon provincia 'contra Mon' [the ordinary meaning of the preposition *ar* is "on"], eo quod sita sit contra Moniam insulam [Mon, Monia was the name of the island Anglesey]."¹ I may observe that in Old Welsh both *b* and *m* in certain positions, e.g., after *r*, regularly become *v* (later written *f*), while the older spellings were often preserved, so that *b, m, v(f)* might alternate with one another.²

I also refer in this connection to a note by E. C. Quiggin,³ who quoted from an Old Irish text: "He [Labraid Longsech] went eastward till he reached the island of the Britons and the speckled youths of the land of Armenia." Quiggin thought (as it seems, without knowing M. Muret's review or the Ermenie of the *Tristan* romance) that *Arvon* must be meant by *Armenia*: "A course in the main easterly from any port between Drogheda and Arklow would bring him to Arvon, which in early Irish spelling would be Armon." A copyist, unacquainted with this name, may have replaced it by *Armenia*.

No less interesting is Professor M. Deutschbein's discovery of the use of *Armonia, Armonica* (adjective?) for Wales in a *Vita S. Oswaldi* (composed about 1160) (*Wikingersagen*, pp. 179 f.): "quomodo Pendam fugaverit in Armoniam, id est Walliam; regem Pendam paganum in Armonicam Waliam fugam inire compulerat. Est itaque locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicae Waliae quod Waliae quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica."⁴ Professor Deutschbein showed that in the same text *Armonia, Armonica*, also designates Brittany: "fugavit in Armonicam . . . fugit in Armoniam ad regem Alanum Solomoni nepotem."⁵ A long time ago W. Hertz⁶ had pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in its Introduction represents the *Brytta* of Great Britain as having come from Armenia, thus rendering Bede's *de tractu Armoricanico*. H. Suchier, in Stimming's edition of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtione* (p. cxev), is no doubt right in believing that the

¹ *Arvon* (*Arfon*) was the name of the *cantref*; the town Carnarvon, the *Segontium* of the Romans, was called in Welsh *Caer (Saint) yr Arfon* (cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 233-34).

² Cf. Strachan, *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, §§ 12 f.; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I, § 284; Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 237.

³ "Armon, Armenia," *Revue celtique*, Vol. XXXVIII (1920).

⁴ Unfortunately he does not say in express terms, nor can I, not being in touch with a large library, find out whether this particular *Vita* was composed in England or on the Continent; for there was also a Breton *Vita*; cf. Baesecke, *Der Mönch der Oswald* (1907), p. 264. Professor Deutschbein speaks of a tradition in England (p. 180).

⁵ Note that *Armoni* (c)a, when designating Wales, seems to have needed the explanation *Walia*, while, when designating Brittany, it could stand by itself.

⁶ *Tristan*, n. 3.

Anglo-Saxon author here thought of Asiatic Armenia; for other legends, of which this author had also some knowledge, make the Scots and Picts come from Scythia (Seythia = Scotia). But when Armorica was termed *Armoni(c)a*, there was evidently no confusion with Asiatic Armenia. Was it merely a graphical distortion or does it presuppose the influence of Welsh *Armon-Armonia*? Professor Deutschbein did not attempt to explain how Wales came to be called *Armoni(c)a*. Was it because on the one side both Wales and Brittany were called *Britannia*, on the other side Brittany was also called *Armorica* (>*Armoni(c)a*)? Or was *Armoni(c)a* a Latinization of *Arvon-Armon*, extended to the whole of Wales? The passage *Armonica quondam pars maxima Waliae* may be a reminiscence of the original meaning of the name, though *maxima* would be an exaggeration. If *Armoni(c)a* is not to be found in any other text but the *Vita S. Oswaldi* in which both meanings of *Armoni(c)a* are attested, the assumption may be made that there was a confusion of names.

H. Suchier¹ identified the country of *Hermin*, king of the *Hermins* in *Boeve de Hamtone*, with Tristan's home Ermenie which he thought to be Brittany. Hermin's country is called *Egipte* in the Anglo-Norman version, but *Ermonie* in the English translation of it and *Hermenie* *Ermenie* in the continental French versions. (*H*)ermenie, which no doubt is the right name and from which the names of the king and the inhabitants are derived, seems to be part of *Egipte*,² but is the Asiatic Armenia transplanted to the Nile. Originally, however, it may have been Wales (not Brittany!), confused with the homonymous oriental country, if the name of Wales may be supposed to have been in this Viking romance *Armonia* or *Armenia* as in the above-named texts. The name of the pagan king *Yvori* (if it is to be equated with Welsh *Ivor* = Norse *Ivar*) and especially *Abreford*, the name of the capital of the *Hermins*, would point to Wales, not to Brittany. H. Suchier considered the first component of Abreford to be Welsh *aber* (= "mouth of a river"); but no doubt Abreford, if Welsh—and this is likely—is the town Haverford (-West) in Pembrokeshire, an important trading-place in medieval times, as Professor Deutschbein³ demonstrated, and a Viking settlement.⁴ Its name was

¹ *Op. cit.*

² Cf. Fassung I, 735-43.

³ *Wikingersagen*, I, 204.

⁴ Cf. Alexander Bugge, "Norse Settlements round the Bristol Channel," *Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland*, Vol. III (Christiania, 1900).

originally *Hafsfjörd* (*hafr* = "ram"; *fjörd* = "firth"). There was in Norway a town of this name (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, s.v. "hafr"). *Hafr* (*f* sounded as *v*) was confused with Welsh *aber*, as *fjörd* with English "ford." Thus we have a number of arguments in favor of the view that Wales or part of it was once called *Armenie* or *Ermenie*.

Merely for the sake of completeness, I mention H. Zimmer's identification of *Permenie* with *Bernicia* (Northumberland) in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XIII, 101, an explanation that is altogether untenable, and my own derivation of *Permenie* from *Hybernia* in the same periodical, XX, 136, a view that I have given up for a very long time.¹

The attempts to explain *Ermenie* are, as we see, rather numerous. Some of them might be formally admissible, but none materially, if *Ermenie* is supposed to go back to the original of the romance; for none meet the requisite I stated above: If *Ermenie* is to be the primitive home of *Tristan*, the *condicio sine qua non* is that it was situated near *Loenois* (= Lothian).

Now there is a territory which would fulfil this condition and the name of which is equal in form to one of those proposed by M. J. Loth as etymon of *Ermenie*. I quote from authorities on Celtic history. W. F. Skene² says:

Between the kingdom of Northumbria and that of the Strathclyde Britons lay two small districts termed *Calatria* and *Campus-Manann*. *Calatria* was the district extending from Falkirk to the shore of the Firth. . . . The Celtic name of this district was *Calathros*.³ . . . West of this lay the district called *Campus Manand* or *Manann*.⁴ The name *Manand* is the same in form with the Irish name of the Isle of Man also called *Manand*. The epithet *Campus*, or "plain," was probably applied to it to distinguish it from the island. The Welsh form of the name is *Manau*, and the Isle of Man was likewise known to the Welsh by that name. The district they termed *Manau Gododin*, to distinguish it from the island, and it is described in the Saxon and Welsh additions to the *Historia Britonum* as "Regio que vocatur Manau

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 162.

² *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. lxxx f.

³ I mention in passing that this region, called *Calateria* in a charter of King David (Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxi, n. 1), is the scene of the action in the "lai del Desiré: En Escoco a une contree ki Calatir est appelle[e] Encoste de la Blanche Lande Juste la mer ki tant est grande" (cf. my note in *Ze. f. frz. Spr.*, XLIX, 122). The neighboring district *Loensis*, also mentioned in this lay (cf. *ibid.*), with the town of Edinburgh (*Danebore*) is the scene of the action of the *lai Doon*.

⁴ Cf. Tigernach's Irish annals (ad a. 711): "Strages Pictorum in campo Manand a Saxonis" (*Saxon Chronicle: betwiz Hafe and Care*—the Avon and the Carron [*op. cit.*, n. 2]).

Gododin in parte sinistrali," or the north of Britain. The name is still preserved in that flat and barren moor forming the parish of Slamannan, and called of old *Slamannan Muir*. The name *Slamannan* is the Gaelic *Sliabh Mannan*, the word *Sliabh* meaning a "moor," but it certainly extended as far as the river Almond, and may possibly have included the whole of the modern county of Linlithgow; and as this county approaches at the Queensferry within a short distance of the opposite coast of the Firth, it may have even extended beyond it, and left another trace of its name in the county of *Clackmannan*.¹

J. Rhys says:

It [i.e., the permanent settlement of the Picts on the southern side of the Firth of Forth] is called in Welsh *Manaw* of the Gododin, to distinguish it from another *Manaw* beyond the Forth, as well as from the Isle of Man, which appears in the same language as the Island of *Manaw*. The Pictish settlement included the part of Lothian in which Edinburgh is situated, and a portion of the Pentland hills. . . .²

And at another place:³

The region called by the Welsh the land of *Manaw*, a name which survives in *Slamannan Moor*, in which the river Avon rises, in the county of Linlithgow, and also in *Clackmannan*, which suggests that another piece of *Manaw* lay north of the Forth, both having possibly been included in the territory of the people whom Ptolemy calls *Dumnonii*. Their county touched two salt waters, the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde or the Irish Sea. Adjoining them, close to the former, was another piece of the ancient *Manaw*, called by the Welsh the *Manaw* of the Gododin: these were the people known in Ptolemy's time as *Votadini*,⁴ and placed on the coast from the Firth of Forth to the confines of the land which he considered the *Brigantes* to have inhabited as their own [called after them *Bernicia* = Northumberland]. Before leaving this district south of the Forth, it may be mentioned that next to nothing is known of the relation in which the Picts of Lothian and of Galloway stood to their kinsmen in the north. . . .

J. Rhys knows also a place called *Dun Mannan*, or Fort of *Man*, in Ireland.⁵

The *Manau* in Scotland was the scene of many wars. It formed the greater part of what Skene termed "the debatable lands."⁶ As here the boundaries of the four kingdoms and nations (Angles, Picts,

¹ Cf. also Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 237-38.

² *Celtic Britain* (4th ed.), p. 112.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

⁴ About this etymology cf. also J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XL, 9.

⁵ *Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 324 n.

⁶ *Celtic Scotland*, I, 237.

Britons, Scots) approached one another, "it possessed a very mixed population and was the scene of most of the conflicts between these four states." Manau had a special importance for the Welsh, because it supplied them (especially the North-Welsh) with two important dynasties. "*De regione quae vocatur Manau Guotodin* Cunedag [Cunedda] came with his sons, 116 years before the reign of Maelgwn, the most powerful of his descendants [i.e., in the first part of the fifth century], and took possession of North-Wales, after having expelled the *Scotti* [i.e., the original Goidelic population?] *cum ingentissima clade*" (Nennius, § 62). Cunedda and his family were North-Britons who emigrated from Manau at the time "when the Picts succeeded in possessing themselves of a part of Manaw."¹ Some of Cunedda's (8-9) sons and one of his grandsons gave their names to provinces of Wales.² At a later time, when Kynan, son of Cadwaladr, died, his son-in-law Mervyn (Merminus) became *rex Brittonum* in Wales. He was the father of King Rhodri the Great (†877), and is said to have been originary of Manaw, where no doubt part of the population was still British.³ The tract *De Brachan Brecheniauc et cognatione eius*, written by a Welshman, connects several more or less famous personages of Wales with Manaw in Scotland.⁴ One of Brachan's sons, buried in Manaw, was called Arthur.

Let us now consider the linguistic side of the hypothesis. J. Rhys⁵ said of the Gaelic or Irish form of the name: "[Irish] *Manann* (also written *Manand*) is the genitive, but it is also used as the nominative, which should have been *Manu*."⁶ According to R. Thurneysen,⁷ the Irish forms were nominative *Mana*, genitive *Manann*. The only scholar who, to my knowledge, gave an explanation of the various

¹ Cf. Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

² Cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 116 ff.; J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, II, 348 and 326 ff., where Cunedda's pedigree is printed from a MS of the tenth century. San Marte, *Gottfried von Monmouth*, p. 226, says: "Eine Tochter des Cunedda Wledig ist nach den wälschen Sagen Anlawd map Gwen, welche Mutter der Eigr (Igerna) war, die den König Arthur geba." I cannot check this statement, which must be at least partly erroneous, since *map* means "son" not "daughter." In the *Brut Tysilio*, Eigr is the daughter of Amlawd Wledig (cf. J. Loth, *Mab.*, I, 243, n. 2; J. E. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 31). Amlawd was a man; for *wledig* meant *dux*.

³ Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 143; J. E. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 f. In spite of an objection made by Professor Lloyd (*op. cit.*, p. 324, n. 14), I think that *o dir manaw* (= "from the land of Manaw") cannot be applied to the Isle of Man; for no doubt, to designate the latter and to distinguish it from the Manaw in Scotland, *ynys* (= *insula*) *manaw*, not *tir* (= *terra*) *manaw*, would have been used.

⁴ Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 160, n. 79.

⁵ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 663, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. nom. *Eriu*; gen. *Erenn*, Ireland.

⁷ *Die irische Helden- und Königssage*, p. 62.

Welsh forms of the name, was H. Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus* (pp. 269-70). Commenting on Nennius' (*insula*) *Eubonia*, i.e., *Manau* (§§ 8, 14), he wrote:

Im Kymrischen ist Mon = Anglesey and Manau, wie auch Nennius angibt = Man. So heisst denn auch die Insel Anglesey bei den Römern immer Mōna. Die Insel Man kommt zuerst bei Plinius (*Histor. Natur.*, IV, 30) vor: inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam Mona et Monapia. Hier ist in Monapia das o Angleichung an Mona. In des Ptolomaeus Angabe einer *Mavapía πόλις* an der Ostküste Irlands steckt vielleicht durch einen Irrtum die Insel Man . . . ; ein *Mavarādā* mit p ist als echt irisches Wort unmöglich, aber gut brittisch. Das -apia in Manapia ist dasselbe wie in gall. Menapii, Geldapa etc. . . . zu einem *apa = lat. aqua, und Manapia ist eine Bildung wie altgermanisch Scadinavia (Scandinavia), ahd. Rhinaugia, gr. Μεσσάπιοι (cf. 'Απία Morea). Aus diesem Manapia kann aber auf geradem lautgesetzlichem Wege nur altkymr. Manab, nicht Manau werden. Wir haben im gall.-britt. Zweig des Keltenvolkes neben -apa, -apia (= lat. aqua, gr. Απία) aus indogerm. *akvā, "Wasser," akviā "Insel" einen Stamm ab. . . . Hierher gehört altbrittannisch Abona (Fluss) = kymr. afon (d.h. avon), ir. abann. Wie altbritt. ap zu altkymr. ab, so musste altbr. ab zu aw, au werden. Durch Verwechslung beider Wörter fast gleicher Bedeutung wurde im Altbritannischen, aber nach des Plinius Zeit, Manapia zu Manabia, woraus Manau. Beda bezeichnet beide Inseln, Anglesey und Man, d.h. also kymr. Mon und Manau, mit Meuaniae insulae (*Histor. eccl. gent. Angl.*, II, 5, 9). Bei Orosius (*Histor.*, I, 2, 82) haben die Handschriften Meuania, Euania, Euonia (Zangemeister, *Orosius*, S. 30), von denen keine Lesart ein wirkliches Wort ist, ebensowenig wie Beda's Meuania und des Nennius Eubonia. Aus Menavia, wie Orosius wohl im 5. Jahrhundert für Manavia schrieb (=kymr. Manau), entstand durch Schreiberdummheit im 6. oder 7. Jahrh., für welche Zeit Meuania handschriftlich belegt ist (s. Zangemeister, *loc. cit.*), Meuania, indem u und n versetzt wurden; hieraus als letzte Entstehung Euania, Euonia und endlich Eubonia bei Nennius, welche Form auch die alten Annales Cambriae in Harl. 3859 zum Jahre 584 und 684 haben.

In a note Zimmer referred to other cases in which a graphical distortion of a topographical name has persisted and even superseded the phonetically correct forms:

Die Entstehung von Meuania aus Manavia ist also ganz analog der Verstümmelung Jona aus Joua (Walahfrid Strabo hat richtig Eo, Beda Hi), wie der Name bekanntlich in der alten vor 714 geschriebenen Handschrift der *Vita Columbae* noch lautet. Hebrides ist analog im Mittelalter aus den Hebudes geworden (s. *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.* [1891], S. 283 N.). So sind also vom 7. bis 13. Jahrh. für drei östlich [sic!] von Britannien gelegene

Inseln grobe Entstellungen der Namen eingetreten. Die Bezeichnung des schottischen Hochgebirges als Grampian Mountains

is due to a change of *mons Graupius* (Tacitus) into *Mons Grampius*.¹

I think that Zimmer's explanation is plausible. I merely object to the derivation of *Eubonia* from *Euonia*. The letter *b* could not be introduced like this, but presupposes no doubt a *v*, which in its turn would postulate an earlier *m* (cf. *supra* about the interchange of *m*, *v*, *b* in the British language).² Indeed, to Nennius' *Eubonia* would correspond *Eumania* in the Irish annals of Tighernac, according to M. J. Loth (cf. *supra*). I cannot verify this assertion; but the *Eumania* passages in those portions of the annals of Tighernac and the annals of Ulster that are reprinted in Skene's *Chronicles* are not sure to refer to *Manau*. Dealing with the Ulidians, they might perhaps refer to *Emain Macha*, the court of King Conchobar in Ulster. The forms recorded are *Eamain*, *Emhain*, *Eumania*, *Umania*, *Eufania*. Skene did not equate them with *Eubonia* in his Index. Nevertheless, *Eumania* is postulated as an earlier form of *Eubonia*, and as *Euania* was prior to *Euonia*, there existed no doubt also a form *Eumania* as a variant of *Manau*. As **Menaia (Manauia)* became *durch Schreiber-dummheit* (metathesis) (*M*)*euania* (Bede) > (*M*)*eunonia* (concerning the aphaeresis of *m* in Celtic, I refer to my observations in *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XLIV², 95), so another metathesis turned the latter forms into *Eumania*—*Eunonia* (= *Eubonia*).

Zimmer's explanation refers to the Isle of Man; but since the latter and the district in Scotland had exactly the same name, the name variants of the one may be also those of the other, and in any case the variants of the one may have been transferred to the other by confusion. That there was confusion we can see from a Nennius MS, mentioned by Camden (according to San Marte's edition, note to § 8), which adds to *Eubonia* [*insula!*] *id est Manau* the word *Guotodin*. Besides I am sure that the *Eubonia* in the *Annales Cambriae* designates,

¹ *Pentland* (Hills or Firth) for *Pehland* (=land of Picts; cf. my paper in *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 180) may be considered as another example, the lower part of *h* being hardly different from *n* (cf. *Lohot*>*Ilinot* in Wolfram; as to *i* cf. *Lac*>*liaz*, gen., in *Erez Saga*, p. 132; *Girflet le fil Do*>*Fofreit* *fs Idoel* in Wolfram's *Parsival*). In my first article I explained the *n* of *Pentland* as anorganic. There I failed to mention *Petland* in *Saxo Grammaticus*, IX, 305; *Peghtes, Peyghes* in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, vss. 3533, 4125, and *Pelande* in *Fergus*, vs. 316.

² Zimmer himself says on another occasion (p. 237): "Im Irischen und Welschen sind seit dem 6. Jahrh. *b* und *m* intervokalisch in dem Laute *w* zusammengefallen, während man bis heute *b* resp. *m* schreibt; dies ist bei selten vorkommenden Wörtern sowie den Schreibern unbekannten Fremdwörtern eine fortwährende Quelle von Irrtümern."

at least in one case, the district in Scotland, not the island, as both Zimmer (in the long passage quoted above) and M. J. Loth¹ presumed.² But these two scholars seem to have made their mistake because they were not aware of the existence of another Manau besides the island. The earthquake recorded "ad a. 684" might refer to either Manau; but the entry "ad a. 584" *Bellum contra Euboniam* obviously corresponds to what Tighernac and the annals of Ulster recorded "ad a. 582 and 583": *Cath* [= "battle of"] *Manand in quo victor erat Aedan mac Gabhrain*, resp. *Bellum Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan mac Gabhrain*. The victor is a well-known Scottish king of *Dalriada* (=Argyll), and there cannot be any doubt that he was waging wars in the so-called "debatable lands" that bordered on his own territory, not in the distant Isle of Man. Skene³ took it as a matter of course that the Irish entries have reference to Manau in Scotland (he did not mention the corresponding Welsh entry).

**Eumonia* (ancient form of *Eubonia*) and **Eumania* are forms from which might be derived French *Ermonie*, *Ermanie*, *Ermenie*, a slight graphical distortion being postulated once more.⁴

It seems to be possible also to derive *Ermenie* from *Manau* without making use of the forms just mentioned. *Manau* would be Latinized into *Mania*; which would yield in French *Manie*. There is a chronicle, called *Chronica regum Manniae et Insularum* (ed. P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1860), written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (cf. *Introduction*, p. xxvi). Also the charters contained in the Appendix of the edition and belonging to the same centuries always call the island *Mannia*. In a letter addressed in 1320 by the barons of Scotland to the Pope we find Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Man and Annandale, called *dominus Mannie* (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 291).⁵ There were many other Latinizations, in which essential elements of the word were simply omitted; cf. *Annandale* > *Anandia* (*op. cit.*);

¹ *Mabinogion*², II, 373, 376.

² The *Annales Cambriae* frequently record events of the history of Scotland.

³ *Celtic Scotland*, I, 160 f.

⁴ I do not know if *eum*->-*erm* may be compared to *gu*->*gr*, a change frequently to be observed in proper names of French romances, e.g., *Hongrefort* (Sommer, *Lancelot*, II, 299) = *Hongrefort* (P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, V, 124 ff.); *Guingamor* = *Gryngamore* (Malory), *Meleag(u)ant* > *Mellyagraunce* (Malory), etc.

⁵ In Layamon's *Brut* (III, 7) the name of the island is *Maneie* (addition to Wace quoted by Schofield, *PMLA*, XVIII, 12); -*eis for-* is seems to be an analogous form; cf. *Norweie* (Norway), *Galweie* (=Galloway, just opposite to Man!), *Feneye* (=Fenensis; cf. Schofield, *op. cit.*).

Northumberland > *Northumbria* (frequent); *Gallwydel* (Welsh; Irish *Gallgaidel*) > *Galweidia*, *Gallowethia*, etc. (= Galloway; cf. Skene's Indices to *Chronicles* and *Celtic Scotland*); *Aerergaidhel*, *Arregailhel* (= Argyll) > *Argathelia*, *Argadia*, *Ergadia* (cf. Skene, *ibid.*); *Cata-nes* (= Caithness) > *Cathanesia*, *Cathania* (cf. Skene, *ibid.*); etc.

The first syllable of the name *Ermenie* may have been a word meaning "region" or "district" or such like and employed to distinguish the district in Scotland from the Isle of Man. It would be natural that such a word, being commonly used for this purpose, would amalgamate with the proper name, just as in English "Man" is hardly used without "Isle of," while islands such as Sark or Jona or Tiree are not in need of such a designation. In fact, the name *Manann*, designating a "territory" in Scotland, has been preserved to us in such fusions: *Slamannan* and *Clackmannan*. Moreover, we found in the examples quoted above words that might have formed such compounds: *Campus Manand* in a Latin-Irish text and *dir manau* in a Welsh text. *Dir* is the lenated sandhi-form of *tir* (= *terra*) and was no doubt at least as frequent as the latter. Could not *dirmanau* (thus it probably used to be written in the MSS) be treated as a compound and yield the Latinization *dirmania*, which in its turn would yield French *dermanie*? In this form *d* might have been interpreted as the preposition *d'* and omitted.¹ In expressions such as *li rois (le roiaume) de dermanie*, "de" might have been considered as pleonastic. The "emendation" *li rois dermanie* (= *d'Ermanie*) was no doubt greatly facilitated and encouraged by the existence of a kingdom *Ermenie* of different derivation (= Asiatic Armenia or Wales or Brittany).

There was another Celtic noun, the anteposition of which might have served to distinguish *Manann-Manau* in Scotland from the Isle of Man. Professor Pedersen² says: "Not clear is Middle Irish *or* 'Ufer, Rand,' Welsh *or* 'Rand,' Modern Cornish *urrian*, Old Breton *orion* gl. *oram*, Middle Breton *euryen* 'Ufer, Rand,' Modern Breton *or*

¹ In my paper *Alain de Gomeret* ("Festschrift Morf"), p. 21, I quoted examples of *d'* (or even *de*) being omitted before geographical names and wrongly introduced before names of persons. I add to them Hartmann's *Destrigaleslant* <*le roiaume d'Estregales, floresta de Armantes* (Span. *Demanda*) <*forest de Darnantes* (cf. *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XXXV, 26), of *Dorkine* (*Arthour and Merlin*, vs. 8357) <*d'Orcanie*; Turpin's sword was called *Almice, Almace, Dalmuce* (*Roland*, vs. 2089), the hero of a lay by *Marie de France Yonec, Yonet, Dyonet, Dyomet*.

² *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I, § 127/4, n. 2.

'Rand.' " At another place,¹ in speaking of the *r*-suffixes, he mentions: "[Irisch] *airer* [neut.] 'Küste, Hafen, Gegend' zu Irisch or 'Ufer, Rand.'" The longer word occurs in a passage of the tract *De situ Albaniae*, composed about 1165, probably by a Welshman, perhaps Giraldus Cambrensis.² The author gives four explanations of the name *Arregathel* (=Argyll). The first of them seems to be the right one: "*Arregathel* dicitur quasi *Margo Scottorum seu Hibernensium*, quia omnes Hibernenses et Scotti generaliter *Gattheli* dicuntur." Skene says about this name:

In the Irish Annals the form of the name is *Airergaidhel*, *Airer* signifying a district [Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 397]. The Scotch form is *Earrgaoidheal* from *Earr*, a limit or boundary, and this approaches most nearly to the form of the name in the old description, with its etymology of margin or limit of the Gael. The oldest name is that probably in the Albanic *Duan*, where it is termed *Oirir Alban* [Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 59], or the coast lands of *Alban* [not rather the land bordering on *Alban*?], from *Oirthir* [sic!], a coast or border, and we find the name *Oirir* applied to it in the Book of *Clanranald*, which distinguishes the *Oirir a tuath*, or northern *Oirir*, and the *Oirir a deas*, or the southern *Oirir*, from each other.³

In *Chronicles*, page lxxxvii, he remarks, without mentioning a source, that Argyll was also termed *Oirirgael*.

Probably the word *or* meant not only "margin," "limit," "border," but also "borderland," what the Germans called *Mark* and the French *marche*, as did Latin *margo*. *Ormanann* or *Ormanau*, Latinized *Ormania*, might have meant the borderland called *Manann-Manau* or the land bordering on *Manann-Manau*. *Ormanie* might have been changed into *Ermanie*, because *o* and *e* (proper names were often or even usually written with small initials) were graphically similar, often undistinguishable (whence innumerable cases of interchange in proper names), also owing to confusion with the *Ermenie* of different origin. However, I think we had better assume the etymon of *Ermenie* to have been a compound of the derivative of *or* with the *r*-suffix, viz., *oirir*, *airer*, since we actually found the latter to have formed compounds that were names of regions. The second component could be the name of a people (*Oirer Gaithel*)⁴ or the name of a region (*Oirer*

¹ II, § 395/3.

² Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 136.

³ *Celtic Scotland*, III, 48-49.

⁴ *Oirir Gaithel*=the region belonging to the Goidels just as *Airer Dalriatai* (*Annals of Ulster*) meant the country of the Dalriads (J. Rhys, *Celt. Brit.*, p. 275), "the coastlands of Dalriada" (Skene, *Celt. Scot.*, I, 376, 377, n. 55).

Alban; about *Alban* cf. *infra*). Likewise, there could exist, and probably did exist, a compound *Oirir Manann*. *Manann* in Scotland being rather rarely recorded in Irish documents, it is not surprising that no example of *Oirir Manann* is attested. *Oirir* not only meant "margin," "margo," "borderland," but also "coast" (*Manann* bordered on the Firth of Forth), "district." Now in Irish *oi* became *ai* and then a monophthong at a very early time,¹ and about the same time the word became monosyllabic. Thus *Oirir Goithel* was changed into *Airergaídhel*, *Aerergaídhel*, *Arre(r)gaithel*, *Argathelia*, *Argadia*, *Ergadia*, *Argialla*, *Argyll* (for these forms cf. Skene, *Chronicles*, Index. I add to them *Herergaidel* in the *Chronicle of Man* [ed. Munch], p. 7).² In the same way *Oirir Manann* would have become *Armanann*, *Ermanann*. Now all these forms are Irish-Gaelic. A Welsh equivalent of Irish *oirir*, derived from *or* (which was also Welsh), is not attested. Probably it would not have yielded the same forms. But no doubt Gaelic *Armanann*, *Ermanann*, adopted by the Britons (e.g., in a saga), would have become *Armanau*, *Ermanau*, Latinized *Armania*, *Ermania*. In this way the French forms would be most naturally explained (cf. *Armanie*, variant of *Armenie*, in *Prose Melusine*, p. 429).

Besides, the first component may have been the prefix and preposition Irish *air* (later *er*), British *ar* (in *Arvon*; cf. *supra* and *Arecluta* = Dumbarton), Gaulish *are* (in *Aremorica*, *Aredunom*), Greek $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$.³ This prefix had in Irish also the meaning "east"; *Airmumu* = "eastern Munster."⁴ Thus *Airmanann* may have meant "eastern *Manann*" and may have become in Welsh *Armanau*, Latinized *Armania*.

Even *Mania-Manie* itself (written with small initials) might have been read *Ermania-Ermanie*, if there was some mark or blot in front of or above the *m* similar to the abbreviation of *er* (a sort of apostrophe) (cf. in the *Lai del Cor*, vss. 433 f., *mainers*: *Kadoiners*, to be emended *mains*: *Kado[ains]*, and *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XLVII, 163), or, if Tristan was said to be originary *demanie* or his father was called *rois demanie*, the *e* of the preposition might have been taken as the

¹ Cf. Pedersen, §§ 38, 39, 347/12-17.

² *Oirgialla-Airgialla*, whence *Oriel* in Ireland, is a different word; here *oir* seems to mean *aureus* (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 286 f.).

³ Cf. K. Meyer, "Zur keltischen Wortkunde," *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad.* (1919), pp. 374 f.; Pedersen, *Grammatik*, I, 91; Dottin, *Manuel ... de l'antiquité celtique*, pp. 60, 88.

⁴ K. Meyer, *op. cit.*

abbreviation of *er* (cf. in the Bliocadran prologue *K'a m(er)uelles*, read by Potvin as *Kammuelles*). Such misreadings, too, were favored by the existence of a name *Ermenie* of other derivation.

Thus there is also a choice of explanations, if we identify *Ermenie* with *Manann-Manau* in Scotland.

A confusion of *Ermenie* = *Manann* with *Ermenie* = *Brittany* (cf. *supra*) may have been the reason why Thomas transplanted Tristan's home from Scotland to the Continent; but I am inclined to think that this shifting was rather caused by the ambiguity of the name *Bretaigne*. The latter was connected with Morgan who was the liege lord of Tristan's father. Morgan's *Bretaigne* must have been once—if Morgan's rôle was original, and that is the assumption which was our starting-point—near *Loenois* (Lothian). Then it obviously was the kingdom of the North-Britons or Britons of that part of Scotland which was called *Cumbria* or *Strathclyde*. It may have been exceptionally called *Britannia* (its usual name in French was *Norgales* or *Estragales*; cf. my article in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, Volume XXVII, and also XLIV², 83 f.), because its inhabitants were commonly called *Britones*.¹ It was however natural that in the twelfth century, when the kingdom of the North-Britons had ceased to exist and the nationality and even the speech of the North-Britons were gradually lost, the terms *Bretons* and *Bretaigne* applied to them were likely to be misunderstood and interpreted as *Bretons* and *Brittany*.

Nevertheless there was one inconvenience in Thomas' shifting Morgan's country from Scotland to the Continent, namely, that Brittany was already playing an important part in the Tristan romance as the home of Iseut as *Blanches Mains*. Therefore Thomas seems to have avoided an identification in express terms, and Gottfried, to avoid even an implicit equation, called Iseut's home the duchy of Arundel. While in the Vulgate the ruler of Brittany has preserved the old and original title of king, Thomas, in order to adapt the situation to the contemporary state of things, represented Brittany as a duchy,² and therefore transferred the title of "duke" from Iseut's father to

¹ Cf. M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 144–45, and the Index of Skene's *Chronicles*.

² M. Bédier (II, 266) has adopted the title of "duke" for the ruler of Brittany in his reconstruction of the *poème primitif*, wrongly believing that this title is also to be found in Eilhart and the Prose Romance.

Morgan, for whom as the ruler of the North-Britons it was inappropriate. After Morgan's country had been identified with Brittany, it was a matter of course that the country of his vassal, Ermenie, should become a continental region too, a portion of Brittany, or bordering somewhere on Brittany. It could not be identified with Brittany, since the country of Tristan's father could not be identical with that of Morgan.

If the linguistic side of the hypothesis is considered satisfactory, it cannot be denied that the Pictish district of Manau, bordering on the North-British kingdom and on Lothian, partly coinciding with the latter in its wider sense, fulfils strikingly well the conditions postulated by the function of Ermenie in the Tristan romance.

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[To be continued]

TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER'S SEA-FIGHT

The following illustrations to line 69 in Chaucer's *Legend of Cleopatra*, "He poureth pesen upon the hacches slider," I happened upon by the way of Schultz's *Das höfische Leben* (2d ed.), II, 356, and Rudolf Schneider's *Die Artillerie des Mittelalters*, page 179.

The first is from an account of a sea-fight off Naples in 1283 between the French fleet of Charles of Anjou and the combined Spanish and Sicilians. It is found in Saba Malaspina's chronicle, the last part, which is not in Muratori's *Scriptores*, but in Rosarius Gregorio's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere*, II (Panormi, 1792), 407, and runs as follows:

Catalani ad haec, et Syculi, qui jam non minus dolis, quam armis vincere didicerant, ut facti jam victores, bellum vincendo celeriter valeat expedire, cum non possent quantumcumque plures numero Gallicam exterminare vigorem consideratione mortis, ignem accensum, vasa figuli, solpilas,¹ et caccabos terreos plenos sebo, et saponis artificeata mistura, jactabant ad superiores Gallicorum tabulas galearum, ad hoc videlicet, ut pedes Gallici, talia inesperti certamina, lapsu liquoris hujusmodi lubride laberentur, nec ad defensionem possent stare Gallici, si deflentibus pedibus aut intus ruerent, vel undas fluenter in nigras . . . altera quidem figurorum vasa jactabant calce pulvrenula completa, quam unda nulla tetigerat, ut Gallicorum visus calcis hujusmodi volatili pulvere tenebrescerent, ne viderent.

Here, by throwing clay pots or bombs full of grease, or of specially prepared soap, you make the upper decks of the enemy so slippery that they fall on to the deck below and get hurt, or else overboard and drown. It might have been added that on such a footing, even if they escaped, they could neither attack nor defend well.

The second is in the twenty-third chapter of Aegidius Romanus' *De regimine principum*, written for Philippe le Bel when prince, say in 1280. In enumerating the ten ways of getting the better of your enemy at sea, he thus describes the ninth:

Nona cautela est, habere multa vasa plena ex molli sapone, quae cum impetu proicienda sunt ad naves hostium, et hoc super loca illa, in quibus contingit hostes exsistere ad defendendum naves. Nam vasis illis confractis in huismodi locis, loca illa per saponem liquidum redduntur adeo lubrica, quod hostes ibi ponentes pedes statim labuntur in aquas.²

¹ *solpilas*, meaning "unknown."

² Schneider, p. 29. Schneider's "critical" text is probably better than that of the early prints of Aegidius.

It is the same thing—the fighting decks, made slippery by bombs of soft soap, slide the hapless marines into the water. One might ask if in the World War, when so many medieval tricks were revived, the slip-bomb also was tried.

Chaucer's "shearing hooks," his "grapnel so full of crooks," and his "pots full of lime" correspond to the *ferrum curvatum*, the *uncos ferreos*, and the *calx alba pulverisata* of Aegidius' sixth, seventh, and eighth devices.¹

These quotations buttress the opinion generally held, I suppose, concerning the passage, namely, that the peas were to make the decks slippery,² and they render less attractive the brilliant suggestion that "peas" is from a misreading in some original of *pois* ("peas") for *poix* ("pitch").³ Certainly a deck-covering of dried, round whole peas, as hard as wood, would make a precarious footing for sailors, fought they barefoot, fought they shod.⁴

I agree with Schofield that "gonne" in line 58—"With grisly soun out goth the grete gonne"—is cannon, and not missile. Cannon had been in use for a half-century; but the difficulty is to find a parallel for "out" = "off." Of course it is quite as appropriate for a cannon to "go out" as to "go off"—or as for a trumpet to "go up," as it does in line 56. The first citation in the *New English Dictionary* for "go off" = "explode" is from Gossen's *School of Abuse*, published in 1579. For "go out" in this sense one might cite Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* (1520), line 623:

With that I herd gunnis russhe out at ones,
Bowns, bowns, bowns! that all they out cryde;

and perhaps *Piers Plowman*, C, XXI, 293:

Setteth bowes of brake and brasene gunnes,
And sheteth out shot ynowh,

where the sense is possibly "shot off."

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¹ Of these only the sixth and seventh appear in the basic fourth-century treatise of Vegetius (BL IV, chap. xvi). Such details, however, may be postponed to a later article.

² See, for example, Skeat's note to this line; but Skeat is wrong in supposing that it was on one's own deck one poured the peas—in order to repel boarders.

³ *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), p. 145.

⁴ Some may prefer to think that the peas were in a mixture like pease porridge.

THE PRECEPT OF PLAGIARISM IN THE CINQUECENTO

The Aristotelian theory of poetic imitation has of late not been without its students and exponents, some of whom have duly traced the theme and its derivatives down from the classic ages into the eighteenth, even the nineteenth, century;¹ the plagiarism aspect of the ancient canon of *μίμησις*, however, seems in recent years to have been curiously neglected as a subject for study.² Accordingly, though I am here proposing to point out various manifestations of the plagiaristic imitation essentially in the land and century (the Italian *Cinquecento*) in which it found its widest following, a brief preliminary outline of the main points in its previous development is indispensable.

The first significant appearance of a theory of literary imitation occurs in the fourth century B.C. in Aristotle's *Poetics*, with its famous discussion of *μίμησις*—later translated as *imitatio*, *imitazione*, *imitation*, etc. But Aristotle's *μίμησις* is imitation of nature, truth to life, almost realism in the best sense of that ill-used word; he says nothing at all of imitating other writers. It was in the course of the three following centuries that *μίμησις* in some untraceable way took on this entirely different meaning, in which, by the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century B.C.) it was already definitely established. Dionysius devoted a whole work, *περὶ μίμησεως*, to imitation,³ dividing it into three books which treated, respectively: (i) of imitation in it-

¹ See especially W. G. Howard "Ut pictura poesis," *PMLA*, XXIV, 44 ff.; cf. also John W. Draper, "Aristotelian Mimesis in the Eighteenth Century," *ibid.*, XXXVI, 372 ff.; etc.

² E. Stemplinger's elaborate study, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), occasionally touches on the matter, but not in a way to be of any value to the present study.

Professor Draper's article (see n. 1) mentions a number of eighteenth-century English theorists who upheld literary imitation in the plagiaristic sense, but discusses their work as if they (or at least the post-Renaissance) were responsible for thus perverting Aristotle's *μίμησις*. The present paper should show, *inter alia*, that the strong classic tradition of imitation which came down to the Renaissance was precisely the plagiaristic and not the Aristotelian canon. The advocates of plagiaristic imitation in eighteenth-century England cited by Professor Draper should therefore be regarded as deriving from (or reverting to) the medieval and the early Renaissance tradition rather than as themselves perverters of Aristotle.

³ In the remaining pages of this study, the word "imitation," when unqualified, will always signify the "imitation of other writers."

self, (ii) of authors to be imitated, (iii) of methods of imitation. Unhappily this work has not come down to us, and Dionysius' other work on literary composition, *περὶ συνθέσεως ὄνομάτων*, has nothing to say on the matter. From this time on, however (indeed, for some time previously), the idea of imitating other writers as an essential precept for attaining literary eminence flourished and quite overshadowed the earlier, Aristotelian, sense of *μίμησις* or *imitatio*. Exactly how this came about we do not know; possibly it arose through the accidental exaltation of a precept intended for beginners only¹ into a literary canon set up for the finished artist. We can only say that by the first century B.C. it was rampant, and that among the Alexandrians and Romans it held powerful sway. It has even been suggested (on what original authority I do not know) that the marvelous library at Alexandria was built up and cherished with the prime idea of providing material for future imitators.²

Another Greek work on literary style, usually known by its Latin title as *Demetrii de elocutione* (not by Demetrius Phalerius of the fourth century B.C., to whom it was long ascribed, but possibly by some other Demetrius of the first century B.C.), had probably been written shortly before the time of Dionysius. Here, too, the "newer" imitation was already recognized, though it is mentioned very casually; we read in chapter or section 112: *τὸ δὲ ποιητικὸν ἐν λόγοις ὅτι μὲν μεγαλοπρεπές , etc.:*

A touch of poetic diction adds to the elevation of prose. Even a blind man can see that, as the proverb has it. Still, some writers imitate the poets very crudely. Or rather, they do not imitate them but transfer them to their pages as Herodotus has done. Thucydides acts otherwise. Even if he does borrow something from a poet, he uses it in his own way, and so makes it his own property.³

In the same first century B.C., two Roman theorists definitely inculcated *imitatio* as a method of rhetorical composition. One of these

¹ As a precept for the tyro, of course, it still is often emphasized. Stevenson closed his familiar exposition of the value of "playing the sedulous ape" with the words: "That, like it or not, is the way to learn to write" (see R. L. Stevenson, *Memories and Portraits* [biographical ed.; New York, 1905], pp. 55-59). The passage is cited under the caption "Learning to Write" in a current handbook for students of English composition (C. T. Copeland and F. W. C. Hersey, *Representative Biographies* [New York, 1910], pp. 127 ff.).

² Cf. W. Rhys Roberts, *Demetrius on Style* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 22. Mr. Roberts' Introduction includes a brief but useful discussion of two or three of the Alexandrian theorists.

³ Translation by W. Rhys Roberts, *op. cit.*, § 112. This last phrase anticipates the Horatian "Publica materies privati iuris erit, si" Cf. p. 298, n. 2, below.

is Cicero, who prescribed it early in the second book of his *De oratore*,¹ where, after narrating in detail the admirable results of young Sulpicius' studious imitation of Lucius Crassus, he concluded: *Ergo hoc sit primum in paeceptis meis . . .* ("Let this, then, be the first of my precepts: to assign a model for imitation; and in such a way that the best aspects of that model may most diligently be studied. Then must come practice, until the imitator really resembles his chosen model . . .").² The other, that uncertain author who was not Cicero, in the opening pages of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, noted *imitatio*, "by which we are moved with earnest diligence to make ourselves similar in our compositions to someone else"³ as one of the orator's three means of attaining excellence in the qualities required of him.

In the following century (the first of the Christian Era) two famous treatises discussed, among other matters, imitation; one somewhat briefly, the other in considerable detail. The former was the Greek *τέρπι ψύχος* traditionally known as *Longinus on the Sublime*, though it was composed (almost certainly) two centuries before Longinus' time, and its title does not strictly mean *On the Sublime*; in this work we are urged to imitate and emulate great writers who have been before us; and, in doing so, the unknown author carefully adds, we are not committing theft.⁴ The more detailed treatment we find in the *Institu-*

¹ The *De oratore*, according to Cicero himself in one of his letters (*Fam.* I. 9), comprised the whole theory of eloquence as Isocrates and Aristotle had expounded it. The very general sense of "orator" in Cicero's mind is suggested by a brief passage earlier in the same Book II: "Age vero," inquit Antonius, "quals oratoris, et quanti hominis in dicendo, putas esse historiam scribere?" To this the answer is "Si ut Graeci scripserunt, summi; si ut nostri, nihil opus est oratore; satis est non esse mendacem." Thus the essential characteristic of the orator would seem to be, not "eloquence" in the modern sense, but skill in literary (prose) composition.

² It is noteworthy that Cicero goes on in this passage to sound an elaborate warning against imitating trivial qualities, or even defects, in the model. It is the essentials that must be noted and imitated; not the unimportant, perhaps undesirable, mannerisms: ". . . illum quem ante delegereret imitando effingat atque its exprimat, non ut multis imitatores saepe cognovi que aut ea quae facilla sunt, aut etiam illa quae insignia ac paene vitiosa, consecrantur imitando." (The sixteenth-century text I have followed for the purposes of this study—*Venetiis*, [M.D.] LXXIX—misprints the penultimate word *consecrantur*. Cf. the *De oratore* II. 22, 90 in *M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorica recognovit . . . A. S. Wilkins*, Tomus I, Oxonii, [1901].)

³ "Qua impellimur cum diligentia ratione ut aliquorum similes in dicendo velimus esse."

⁴ Cf. H. L. Havell, *Longinus on the Sublime* (London: Macmillan, 1890), XIII, 2 and 4; XIV, 1.

J. W. Draper (*op. cit.*, pp. 380-81) suggests that the vogue of Longinus (in eighteenth-century England) would act against interpreting *μίμησις* as imitation of other writers. In the light of the passages here cited, however, the contrary would seem to be the case.

tiones oratoriae of Quintilian, who was for many centuries an authority on matters of literary composition second only to Cicero; and in actual influence, through the greater detail of his instructions, possibly even greater than Cicero.

In the tenth book of his *Institutiones* Quintilian takes up at some length the important matter of imitation. In the first chapter of the book, he echoes in a slightly altered form what had been said some scores of years before in the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, dividing the essential means of the rhetorician into three, with *imitatio* in the central position. This chapter (*De copia verborum*) is primarily devoted to the consideration of the various authors whose works should be studied by the man who wishes to acquire a true command of words; the following chapter (X, ii: *De imitatione*) treats exclusively of the methods to be used in imitating. It begins:

From the study of these authors, and of others worth reading, one should acquire a copious vocabulary, a variety of metaphors, and a method of composition; then attention should further be given to the copying of all their good qualities. For undoubtedly a great part of art consists in imitation; since, while invention came first and is most important, it is helpful to copy the things that have in the past been well invented. For the whole conduct of life is based on this: that what we admire in others we desire to do ourselves.

First of all, then, imitation in itself is not enough . . . but even those who do not aspire to the highest achievement should try to excel rather than merely follow their model.¹ For a man who tries to surpass another may perhaps succeed in equalling, if not in excelling him; but the man who thinks he must follow in another's footsteps can never quite come up with him: a follower must always necessarily be behind. . . .²

Thus everything that pertains to this branch of study must be examined with the greatest nicety. First, as to whom we should imitate; since there are very many who have striven to copy the worst and the most faulty models. Then as to what it is, in the writers we have chosen, that we should endeavour to follow; for even in great authors there occur faulty passages,³ blamed by the learned in their criticisms of one another. If only writers today would take good models and surpass them in excellence, instead of taking bad models and excelling their faults. . . .

The first requisite, therefore, is to appreciate what one is going to imitate,

¹ "Sed etiam qui summa non appetunt contendere potius quam sequi debent"

² Michelangelo's well-known dictum against imitation, "Chi va dietro altrui non gli va innanzi," constantly cited as an original apothegm, is thus merely a quotation from Quintilian.

³ Cf. p. 295, n. 2, above.

and to know why it is good. . . . And a matter to be avoided (in which many err) consists in thinking that poets and historians should be imitated by the orator, or that orators and lawyers should be imitated by poets and historians. Every type of composition has its own appropriate laws and ornaments. . . .

Then, after a suggestion that the best model should not necessarily be the only one,¹ but that minor models should at times be selected for imitation on specific points, there comes the final precept: Imitation should not be of the words alone;² we must study, in addition, how fittingly our great models have treated of men and events; the excellence of their judgment; the nature of their method; and how they have planned everything, even what seems purely ornamental, for success.³

By the close of the first century of the Christian Era, therefore, there was ample authority for imitation as a rhetorical precept; and this authority was destined, as time showed, to have full weight for very nearly fifteen centuries more.

It should, perhaps, at this point, be recalled that in the later Roman period and subsequently through the Middle Ages rhetoric and poetic were frequently considered almost as one subject, at least in so far as general precepts were concerned.⁴ Thus Cicero's rhetorical works (including, as a rule, the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) were constantly held valid for poetries also, far down into the Renaissance; so that, for example, in the charming woodcut of a "Tower of Learning" (if we may call it so) in the 1535 edition of the *Margarita philosophica* we are shown the departments both of *rhetorica* and of

¹ "Non qui maxime imitandus etiam solus imitandus est"

² "Imitatio autem non sit tantum in verbis"

³ I have freely translated or paraphrased above from the second chapter of Book x, *passim*. The Latin passages in question will be found without difficulty in any edition of Quintilian, as the chapter is a short one; the copy I have used was printed at Lyons in 1549, *Apud Seb. Gryphium*; a sixteenth-century text of Quintilian is really more to my present purpose than one (possibly far more accurate) of the nineteenth or twentieth century. In the Gryphius volume, the *De imitacione* chapter occupies pp. 519-23. At one point, near the opening of this chapter, Quintilian rather strikingly defends neologisms and new methods of expression: "Cur igitur nefas est reperiri aliquid a nobis quod ante non fuerit?" This is a position that few, save the literary free-lances, were bold enough to maintain in the first half of the sixteenth century. As far as Latin composition was concerned, there was then the (adequate) reason that Latin had become a dead language, which in Quintilian's time, of course, it had not been; the sticklers for a purely *trecento* usage in sixteenth-century Italian writings, however, had perhaps less justice on their side.

⁴ For the *quattrocento* ideas on this point, see (e.g.) G. G. Pontano, *Actius dialogus*, the most pertinent pages of which are now conveniently accessible in R. Kelso and M. W. Bundy, *Girolamo Fracastoro "Naugerius"* "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. IX, No. 3 (Urbana, 1924), pp. 75-80.

poesis ruled over by old "Tullius"; Aristotle, incidentally, reigning in *logica* alone.¹ For since Aristotle and the other Greek (and Alexandrian) theorists were little known and less studied through the Middle Ages until well into the *Cinquecento*, Cicero, with Quintilian (and Horace),² remained for many centuries the great authority on both rhetoric and poetic theory. Significant in this connection (aside from such evidence as the *Margarita* affords) is the fact that Cicero's *de oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutiones* were among the earliest classic works to be printed (in 1465 and 1470, respectively), while Aristotle's *Poetics* did not issue from the press until some forty years later.

In the opening years of the sixteenth century, therefore, imitation as a precept, be it in rhetoric or poetics, was inevitably connected with the Ciceronian idea of imitating others rather than with the Aristotelian imitation of reality. Indeed, no modern reference to the Aristotelian theory was made (as far as I know) until 1529, when it was briefly touched upon by Trissino in the first book of his *Poetica*.³ By

¹ *Margarita Philosophica . . .*, Basileae, Henricus Petrus . . ., 1535, sig. e8vo (facing p. 1). This woodcut, *Typus grammaticus*, seems to have first appeared in the 1503 edition. The *Margarita*, originally composed by the fifteenth-century German Gregorius Reisch, was extremely popular in expanded versions through the sixteenth century. It had a score or more of editions, including an Italian translation (by Gio. Paolo Gallucci) printed at Venice in 1594.

² Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones* (usually dubbed his *Ars poetica*), though unquestionably authoritative, had but little to say of imitation. Ll. 131 ff.

"Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidius
Interpres, nec . . ."

seem to allow of imitation if it be not too extravagantly servile; and in l. 318 we find the budding poet spoken of as *Doctum imitatorem*. This last phrase was probably intended to suggest the true Aristotelian *μίμησις* rather than our secondary *imitatio* (as Vincenzo Maggi first suggested in his *In Horatii librum de arte poetica interpretatio*, printed as an appendix to his elaborate edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*; see *Vincentii Madii Brixiani et Bartholomaei Lombardi Veronensis in Aristotelis Librum de Poetica Communem Explanatio* . . . [Venetiis, 1550], p. 359). None the less, Horace's *Ars* might well be thought not inconsistent, in so far as it went, with the imitation precepts of Quintilian and Cicero. The swift, glorious abuse in the twentieth of his *Epistolarum Liber I* ("O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe Bilem, saepe locum vestri movere tumultus . . .") was, after all, brief and incidental; far too light even to be noticed as against the ponderous weight of authority on the other side. Horace is, in brief, despite his famous phrase, practically negligible as an influence in the development of the imitation theory, however great his influence may have been in other matters of poetic.

³ See *Tutte le opere di Giovan Giorgio Trissino* (Verona, 1729), II, 2. This book was first printed at Vicenza, in 1529, seven years earlier than Daniello's *Poetica* which is generally thought to contain the earliest modern mention of Aristotle's imitation. Cf. Joel E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899), p. 28. (The error is repeated in the second and third editions, of 1905 and 1912, respectively, and in the Italian translation printed at Bari in 1905.) Cf. also Lane Cooper, *The Poetics of Aristotle . . .* (Boston, 1923), p. 105; and R. C. Williams, "The Originality of Daniello," *RR*, XV, 121. The error of the two last probably derived directly from the first.

1550, however, the *Poetics* had become less unfamiliar; and in the second half of the century, Aristotle's *μίμησις* became a commonplace.

Now the number of treatises on literary theory written and printed in the *Cinquecento* was enormous.¹ In (roughly) the first half-century, however, many of them do not mention any sort of imitation; in the second, they are as a rule either still more silent on the subject, or else entirely converted to the Aristotelian sense, utterly ignoring the question of imitating other writers. But there are a few who do write to our purpose; and among them, for the earlier period (i.e., previous to 1560), we may notice Giovan Francesco Pico (1512), Pietro Bembo (1513), Girolamo Vida (1527), Bernardino Daniello (1536), Speron Speroni (1542), Giulio Camillo (1544), Gorolamo Muzio (1551), Giovambattista Giraldi (1554), Antonio Minturno (1559), and Bernardino Parthenio (1560). For the later period (1560-1600), two men only need claim our attention: Francesco Patrizio (1562) and Lodovico Castelvetro (1570).²

At the very outset comes a note of warning in the dubious letter written by Pico to the learned Bembo (September 19, 1512). Pico doubts the value of this promiscuous imitation of a single author, quotes Plato against it, and cites Horace's *imitatores servum pecus*.³ If we imitate at all, we should imitate many rather than a single author;⁴ but (here is a striking note) ability is on the increase, not dying; "We are greater than the ancients in my opinion," says Pico. If they were greater than we, how can we hope to straddle into their stride? If (as Pico believes) we are greater, shall we not ludicrously waddle when we narrow our stride to theirs? Rhetorical style should change with the changing years; however, if you must have imitation, you will err less in imitating many than in imitating one.

In a friendly letter of reply (dated from Rome, January, 1513), Bembo combated this view. He was at the time busily engaged in the really noble and valuable task of standardizing the literary language of Italy—a sorely needed reformation which he admirably accomplished (for he really did, essentially, accomplish it) through the pub-

¹ Cf. the partial bibliographies compiled by R. C. Williams and W. L. Bullock, *MLN*, XXXV, 506-7, and XLI, 254-63.

² The dates in parentheses after each name indicate: for Pico and Bembo, the date of composition of the work to be cited; for the rest, the date of first printing.

³ Cf. p. 298, n. 2, above.

⁴ Cf. p. 297, n. 1, above.

lication in 1525 of his *Prose della volgar lingua*. In this connection, striving to outlaw all irregular local and dialect forms, he was naturally forced to emphasize the usage of a few great writers, primarily Petrarch and Boccaccio, whom he set up as models of good use. Imitation then, at least in matters of vocabulary and syntax, was to him a vitally essential matter. Unfortunately perhaps, following Quintilian's precept, he did not confine his faith in imitation to the matter of language alone;¹ and he answered Pico's letter with a thorough refutation all along the line, discussing the matter mainly from the point of view of Latin composition—where imitation was (and is) at least far less objectionable.

Imitation, in Bembo's view, is indispensable, and should further be of the nature of emulation.² As for imitating all good writers: there must be one best; why then not concentrate on the best? The greatest modern writers show imitation; those who do not do so write pretty feeble Latin. Imitation must also be whole-hearted; as Cicero wrote: "Imitation is that whereby we are moved with earnest diligence to make ourselves in our compositions similar to someone else."³ We cannot be similar to many;⁴ where should we end if we strove to combine the clarity of Caesar with Cicero's majesty, Sallust's brevity with Livy's richness, etc.? Both in poetry and oratory these observations hold; and Cicero and Vergil should be our great models: Cicero for all prose, be it scientific or literary, since it is absurd to suppose we could invent any better style than that which Cicero inherited and perfected; Vergil, essentially, for epic poetry. If you would write lyric or dramatic poetry, choose your model and strive to emulate him.—Unhappily, however (Bembo adds), he can hardly hope by his feeble letter to convince one whom Cicero and Vergil⁵ have failed to convince.⁶

In 1525, Bembo's *Prose*⁷ (apparently composed in large part long

¹ Cf. p. 297, n. 2, above.

² Cf. p. 296, n. 1, above.

³ I.e., the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; cf. p. 295, n. 3, above.

⁴ In Bembo's insistence upon one model rather than many, he is following Cicero (who had prescribed a single model) as against Quintilian. Contrast p. 299, n. 4, above.

⁵ Cicero, presumably, by precept; Vergil, by example, as an imitator of Homer.

⁶ See *passim*, the slender volume *Io Francesci Pici ad Petrum Bembum de imitatione libellus* followed by *Petrus Bembus Ioanni Francesco Pico S.P.D. . . .*; "Venetiis, per Ioan Ant, eiusque fratres de Sablo. Anno Domini M.D. XXX." There were other printings: (?) Strasburg, 1513(?); Lyons, 1532; Argentinae (Strasburg), 1535; Paris, 1578; etc.

⁷ *Prose di M. Pietro Bembo nelle quali si ragiona della volgar lingua scritte al Cardinale de' Medici che poi è stato creato a Sommo Pontifice et detto Papa Clemente Settimo d'is in tre libri, "Impresse in Vinegia per Giovan Tacuino nel mese di Settembre del M.D. XXV."*

before) first issued from the press. In this volume are laid down various rules for Italian grammar and composition, based essentially on the usage of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Imitation is thus, in a sense, the whole basis of the work; and here most justifiably, for the establishment of good use in Italian. However, the book is of little importance to our present discussion, as it hardly touches upon imitation in itself, taking the main principle for granted. It is in Vida's *De arte poetica*, printed two years later, that we find the next definite discussion—and the most striking one—of imitation.

Vida prescribes thefts (*furti*) in so many words, declares that he glories in his own stealings, and urges all writers to join with him; continuing:

Then, if any writer is far superior to all the rest, I bid you learn power and skill in composition from him; you must constantly strive to resemble him as far as possible. . . . But meanwhile, I warn you, do not on that account abstain from exploiting the works of other poets,¹ using their phrases, and taking various treasures from them all. Let us take from one a well formed plot, from another the arrangement, the sense of the phrases, and phrases themselves. It is no shame to speak sometimes with another's mouth. If you plan to steal from well-known poets, however, tread rather more warily, and be careful to disguise your stolen lines by altering the key words; put your readers off the track by changing the arrangement; let the appearance be altered, the impression different. . . .²

And though this sounds like satire, it apparently was serious in intent.

Soon after this frank expression of the precept, Daniello,³ milder far in tone, added one interesting point: If the plagiarist excel his model, he may thus legitimize his theft.⁴ Daniello's work is to us per-

¹ Cf. p. 297, n. 1, and p. 299, above (Quintilian and Pico).

² Girolamo Vida *De arte poetica* iii: ". . . Tum quamvis . . . , etc." (e.g., in *Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis . . . Opera*, "Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium, 1566," pp. 193-94). This passage is even more striking, it seems to me, than are the lines (occurring shortly after this point) chosen for translation by Professor George Saintsbury (see *Loci critici* . . . [Boston, 1903], pp. 85-86).

³ For a brief (and very favorable) sketch of Daniello, see R. C. Williams, "The Originality of Daniello," *RR*, XV, 121-22. Daniello, however, had been anticipated in at least two of the main innovations there attributed to him: the mention of Aristotelian imitation, and the use of blank verse for epic translation. Trissino's precedence *re* Aristotelian imitation I have noted elsewhere (p. 298, n. 3, above); Daniello's use of *versi sciolti* in his translation of *Aeneid* II (so Professor Williams; but was it not *Aeneid* XI?) had been anticipated by the attractive and ill-fated Ippolito de' Medici, whose *Aeneid* II in *versi sciolti* had been printed in 1540 and composed at least five years before that (since Ippolito died in 1535). Five other authors likewise preceded Daniello in this; each of them (with Ippolito de' Medici) contributing one book to *I Sei Primi Libri del Eneide di Vergilio, Tradotti. . . . Vinetia: Comin de Trino, 1540* (reprinted in 1541 and 1544[?]).

⁴ Daniello thus adds a new argument to that of Quintilian in favor of attempting not only to equal but to excel the chosen model (cf. p. 296, n. 1, and p. 300, above). The

haps of greater importance than either Bembo's letter or Vida's *Ars poetica*, since he is here treating in Italian of Italian composition; not, as was the case essentially with both the others, of the neo-Latin. Imitation for modern Latin composition is almost inevitable, since the language is no more in daily use;¹ it is quite a different matter to defend imitation for writers of a modern tongue.

Daniello's mention of the matter is indeed only incidental; but what he has to say is highly pertinent:

.... The writer should use extreme care and diligence in making his materials (or subjects) to be regarded as truly his own property rather than another's, by giving them the most perfect form of which he is capable. If, on the other hand, they be treated trivially and without any distinction, they may easily be stolen by anyone whatsoever and written out with greater skill and beauty; so, after being ours, they will become the property of another.² This happened to a sonnet which I remember having seen, composed by M. Giovanni Aurelio [Augurello] and then so happily imitated by our most learned M. Pietro Bembo that Augurello himself often confessed to me that he had been greatly excelled and that the theme of which he had been the first inventor could now reasonably be called Bembo's rather than his.³

Speroni's *Dialogo della rettorica*, half-a-dozen years later, hardly mentions imitation by name; but the well-known passage in which Broccardo outlines his past studies, halfway through the dialogue, gives some interestingly practical details as to method, and incidentally shows poetics essentially included under rhetoric. The highest type of rhetorical exercise, the demonstrative, is practically equated here with literary prose; and in this treatise on rhetoric is included a disquisition upon meter, and even upon Petrarchesque verse-writing, as a prominent feature.

The studies by which Broccardo made himself an eloquent and

idea of justification by excellence became quite widely current; it was referred to (and accepted) by John Milton over a century later: "... Such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not bettered by the borrower, among good authors is accounted Plagiarise" (*Eikonoklastes*, xxiii). Plagiarisms such as those of Shakespeare, for example, were thus in the Renaissance considered fully justified.

¹ This argument was actually used by Giulio Cammillo (in 1544), and also by the famous J. C. Scaliger in his *Poetica* (1561); see *infra*.

² Here Daniello has evidently in mind the following of a single rather than a multiple model. Cf. p. 300, n. 4, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301 (Cicero and Bembo, as opposed to Quintilian, Pico, Vida).

³ See *La poetica di Bernardino Daniello Lucchese*, "In Vinegia per Giovan' Antonio di Nicolini da Sabio, l'anno de nostra salute MDXXXVI," pp. 74-75. Daniello also cites here the example of Boccaccio and others, but the case of Bembo and Augurello most clearly makes his point. Cf. p. 294, n. 3, and p. 298, n. 2, above (Demetrius and Horace).

learned writer fall into two sharply contrasted parts: He considers one bad, or at least inadequate; the other presumably satisfactory.¹ He first describes how for a long time, largely under the guidance of Trifon Gabriele (a remarkably unproductive *arbiter elegantiarum stylae* of the period), he busied himself studying the words of Petrarch and Boccaccio, making himself a right grammarian, and composing for himself a "rimario or dictionary in the vulgar tongue." He says:

In this, according to the alphabet I entered clearly every word the two great masters once had used; beyond that, in another volume, I set down their various methods of describing objects, day, night, wrath, peace, hatred, love, fear, hope, beauty; so compiled that no word nor phrase ever escaped me that the *Novelle* or the *Sonnets* did not give me in example.—See you now to what a depth did I descend, and in what narrow prison chained myself!

With this sudden and quite unexpected condemnation of the narrow method he had previously followed, Broccardo prepares for something of a contrast. And indeed, studying Petrarch once again, "giving attention to his *method* with greater caution than at first, I observed," he says, "certain matters as I thought of the highest import to the poet." Thus he now began to note, not exact words and phrases, but the general principles; instead of studying by rote, he analyzed method, and formulated, however crudely, general rules. In place of learning Petrarch's words by heart, he noted their types and nature; he observed Petrarch's constant use of metaphor, his avoidance of exact verbal repetition, his fondness for contrasts, and the rest.²

Sperone, then, in brief (if we accept as his own the views he makes Broccardo voice), doubts the value of mere verbal imitation, and urges the following rather of a great writer's method. This is essentially no more than an amplified adaption of one feature in Quintilian: "Imitation . . . should not be of the words alone. . . ."³

Giulio Cammillo's *Trattato della imitatione*, though first printed in 1544, two years after Speroni's *Dialogo*, had perhaps been composed at about the same time. Cammillo makes in general the same points as

¹ This marked contrast, though unequivocally implied, seems curiously to have escaped the modern critics. Francesco Cammarosano, for example (*La vita e le opere di Sperone Speroni* [Empoli, 1920], pp. 71-72) does not note at all Broccardo's disparaging comment on the first half of his method.

² See *I Dialogi* [sic] di Messer Speron Sperone, "In Vinegia, nell'anno. M.D. XLII. In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo," pp. 146-49.

³ Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and p. 300, above (Quintilian and Bembo).

Speroni, and has hardly any new ideas at all of any moment, though his thirty-five-page treatise is nominally devoted to imitation only. In the form in which we have it, the work opens with a reference to Erasmus' opposition to the imitators of Cicero. Cammillo refuses to regard this opposition as in earnest; for imitation is essential, he declares (how unpleasant, he notes later, are the works of those who eschew imitation!); we must follow the best authors; and the one (or two) best only, not the many.¹ He then passes on to suggestions as to how we should imitate our author: We must try to resemble him, not to be the exact same, else we shall be dubbed thieves; we should therefore imitate, not his words alone,² but his general rhetorical method—and on this pretext the bulk of the treatise is then devoted to a detailed discussion of various rhetorical figures, etc.³

Though he writes in Italian,⁴ Cammillo has essentially in mind, like Bembo and Vida, Latin composition; much of his argument applies to writing in dead languages alone. Yet here and there he suggests that the same methods would apply for students of a modern tongue; specifically, as his treatise is addressed to Francis I, for those who write in French.⁵ His work in any case, despite its title, is of more interest for what it has to say of various tropes than for its attitude toward (or analysis of) imitation.⁶

¹ Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and p. 302, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301 (Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, as against Quintilian, Pico, Vida).

² Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni).

³ See *Di M. Giulio Camillo, Tutte le opere . . .*, "In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, et Fratelli. MDLV," pp. 197-232. Two of Cammillo's minor incidental arguments are possibly worth repeating, if only as indicative of his general method: He suggests (p. 217) that if we have chosen and imitated our model well we cannot be criticized without the criticism applying also to the model; and he notes (p. 218) that "he who imitates one truly excellent model imitates at the same time the perfection of a thousand," i.e., of those whom the model himself had imitated and incorporated in his work.

⁴ As a general rule, with comparatively few exceptions, *Cinquecento* treatises in Latin were intended to apply to neo-Latin composition; those in Italian, to writing in Italian. This simple and rather obvious fact has been of late too often overlooked.

⁵ See, for example his apostrophe, "O christianissimo, o felicissimo Re Francesco etc.," on p. 210.

⁶ Two Latin works which appeared within a year of Cammillo's *Trattato* should perhaps be mentioned here: *Calcagnini's De Imitatione Commentatio (in Caelii Calcagnini . . . opera aliquot, "Basileae per Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, mense martio M.D. XLIII," pp. 269-76), and Bartolomaei Ricci de imitatione libri tres ad Alfonsum Atesium principem, suum in litteris alumnis* "Venetis, apud Aldi filios. M.D. XLV."

Calcagnini makes several interesting points: Some part of eloquence is doubtless a matter of natural gift, but more comes from imitation; the author to be imitated depends upon the genre; taking over whole passages from an author is *plagium* not imitation, imitation is primarily a matter of the choice of words; imitation is essential for the budding

Less than a decade later, Muzio, in one of the most interesting and least studied *Poetics* of the century, suggests, soundly enough, a method of subconscious imitation:

. . . You must read much, and sometimes make attempt
To shape translations of choice passages
From famous foreign authors;¹ often write,
And learn by heart whole chapters at a time;
Studying great writers only. Then, when later
You take your pen in hand, and give expression
On paper to your thoughts, your composition
Will savour of the styles you earlier steeped in,
As garments of the rose-leaves they have lain with. . . .²

This is excellent advice, and might well profit many writers of the twentieth century; but it seems to have found little following in the *Cinquecento*. It concerns us here simply as an interesting but practically isolated development of the general theory.

In 1554 appeared Giraldi's *Discorso dei Romanzi*, devoting several incidental pages to the imitation canon. Here the influences are almost purely classical: Although Giraldi is writing in Italian, on a matter purely of Italian literature, he begins his remarks on imitation with an expansion of the pseudo-Ciceronian tag, without acknowledgment; he continues and concludes with recommendations obviously based (though equally without acknowledgment) on Quintilian. "Imitation as it seems to me," he writes, "is nothing other than a diligent and thoughtful study we pursue in order to become through what we learn similar to some outstanding writer. . . ."³ This implies, he

author, but is useless and dangerous for mature writers; etc. But as he treats of Latin composition only, the significance of Calcagnini's observations is definitely limited.

Ricci's treatise is quite elaborate, and especially interesting in its judgments and anecdotes of contemporary Latin writers; but its importance is lessened by the fact that it was written specifically with a view to improving the Latin compositions of a boy of twelve. Its conclusion (see f. 87v.) is the normal one for the time, and is (opposing Calcagnini) specifically applied to both the tyro and the mature writer: ". . . id unum primum, & postremum ei praeceperimus, ut optimum semper auctorem sibi habeat egregie propositum, ad cuius omnem scribendi rationem, suam & ipse totam dirigat, atque conformet orationem."

¹ Authors, be it noted, as opposed to a single author; cf. p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, above; also p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304 (Quintilian, Pico, Vida, as against Cicero, Bembo, DanIELLO, Camillo).

² See *Rime Diverse del Mutio Iustinopolitano. Tre libri di Arte Poetica . . .*, "In Vinegia, Appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari e Fratelli. MDLI," p. 70. Muzio's advice almost fuses into one the first two chapters in Quintilian's Book x (on the reading of good authors, and on imitation); making the second an unconscious instead of a conscious sequel to the first.

³ Cf. p. 295, n. 3, and p. 300, above (pseudo-Cicero, Bembo).

goes on to say, not merely a noting of the words the model used,¹ but a careful study of his constructions and methods. To poet and orator alike this applies; imitation must be of the whole body and method of the model's work—a copying of him at all points. Bembo, he notes, was remarkably successful in resembling Petrarch² in this way, especially in one of his *Asolani* poems. Finally, imitation must always be at the same time emulation;³ an eager attempt, i.e., to surpass the model imitated.⁴

Giraldi has thus merely taken over and repeated the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian. Minturno, who is next to be considered, shows something at least a little more akin to originality—but not much. He was the author of two elaborate treatises on poetics: one in Latin, *De poeta*, printed in 1559; the other in Italian, *Della poetica*, printed four years later. Both treat in extensive detail of versification, where they have in common very little. Both treat also at some length of more general matters of poetic theory; and here they have so much in common that the one is often a very literal translation of the other. Thus, as far as imitation is concerned, the two are practically identical; and Minturno is evidently strongly influenced by Quintilian. Before coming to imitation in itself, he discusses, just as Quintilian had done, the importance of reading standard works by the best authors.

As to imitation proper, Minturno declares that it is of great importance whom we select as model; but we are not likely to make a mistake, since "for us there is but one Petrarch, in making ourselves similar to whom we should place all our energies and zeal."⁵ This

¹ Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, 304, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo).

² Evidently Giraldi, both in his precepts and in this example he adduces, believes in imitating one model rather than many. Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305 (Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, as against Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio).

³ Cf. p. 296, n. 1, and pp. 300, 301, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Daniello).

⁴ See *Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi Cinthio . . . intorno al comporre de i Romanzi . . .* "In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et Fratelli. M.D. LIII." pp. 150-59. Giraldi prefaces this passage with a careful note that he is here discussing not "that imitation of human action whereby the writer is called poet" (i.e., the Aristotelian *μίμησις*), but merely stylistic imitation.

⁵ Here the *Poetica* says of Petrarch exactly what the *De poeta* had of Vergil: ". . . conciosia che tra noi un sol Petrarca si trouvi, a cui di farci simili ogno opera ed ogni studio por debbiamo." The *De poeta* ([Venetiis, 1559], p. 561) had declared: "Quando in Epicis unum ex nostris dumtaxat habes Virgilium, cuius te similem ut facias omni studio atque labore sit entendum." A few lines later comes the justification, again in almost identical terms: "Cum enim ex aliis ille pleraque assumpserit, multa etiam inverterit, cur id tibi non pernuserit quod sibi ille quidem licere existinavit?" And in the *Poetica*: "Conciosiacosa che perciò quegli ha tolto molte cose da gli altri, molte parole anchora ha mutato, níuno altro a se stesso non conceda quel che stimò quegli essergli permesso?"

does not mean, however, that we should not find things to imitate in others as well.¹ Imitation, furthermore, must not be exact, except in the case of a foreign author; we should use our imitated matter to make something new, as bees turn flowers into honey.² The best imitator will not take over the exact matter and the very words of his model,³ but will rather adopt the same method of composition and the same forms of speech.⁴

One year after the printing of Minturno's *De poeta*, and three years before the appearance of its Italian equivalent, there came out the most pretentious work of the century dedicated exclusively to imitation: Bernardino Parthenio's *Della imitatione poetica*.⁵ Parthenio was an ardent admirer of Cammillo (whose writings, he notes at one point with regret, had been dispersed and ill edited), and his work follows essentially Cammillo's plan: a (comparatively) brief discussion of imitation, leading up to an analysis of rhetorical or poetic tropes and figures which occupies the greater portion of his space.

In brief, Parthenio's position is as follows:

Every prudent writer will follow some great model; and that model must be one, not many,⁶ else we wander in uncertainty. They are not only fools but mad who oppose imitation; Pico, though an admirable scholar, is not to be followed in this matter. Imitation is, "as Cicero defines it, a faculty by means of which we strive with diligent thought to be similar in our compositions to someone else";⁷ and the best people use it: Vergil imitated Homer; Bembo, Petrarch. We must, however, make what we borrow into our own: Horace clearly

¹ Cf. p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305, above; also p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, 306 (Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio, as against Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, Giraldi).

² The simile here is a classic commonplace which Cammillo and others had already employed in the Cinquecento.

³ Cf. p. 297, n. 2, and pp. 300, 303, 304, 306, above (Quintilian, Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo, Giraldi). Minturno, shortly after this passage, justifies neologisms, both in the Latin and Italian, as Quintilian had done (cf. p. 297, n. 3, above) and Pico, perhaps, hinted at. Quintilian, for all his obvious influence here, is never mentioned in Minturno's discussion of imitation; but his name is cited elsewhere in the volume.

⁴ See *L'Arte Poetica del Sig. Antonio Minturno In Venetia, Per Gio Andrea Valvassori, del M.D. LXIII*, pp. 444-46.

⁵ Parthenio subsequently reversed Minturno's linguistic procedure; for in 1565 appeared at Venice his (apparently somewhat expanded) translation of the Italian work into Latin, with the title *De poetica imitatione*.

⁶ Cf. p. 300, n. 4, and pp. 302, 304, 306, above; also p. 297, n. 1, and pp. 299, 301, 305, 307. Parthenio is in line with Cicero, Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, and Giraldi, as opposed to Quintilian, Pico, Vida, Muzio, and Minturno.

⁷ Cf. p. 295, n. 3, and pp. 300, 305, above (pseudo-Cicero, Bembo, Giraldi).

showed the possibility of this when he wrote: "Publica materies privati iuris erit, si Nec circa vilem, patulumque moraberis orbem; Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus Interpres. . . ."¹ There is some difference between orator and poet (the former being more familiar, akin to the comic poet), but both must take their words and modes of speech from the best authors, or rather from one best in each case. Imitation is, we must note, of two kinds: one, the essence of poetry, we leave to Aristotle; it is the other alone which we are now considering. This imitation must not be so exclusive as to forbid originality; it is praiseworthy indeed to invent and find for one's self;² but in the main, imitation is indispensable. By assiduously studying the works of the perfect writer, and by practice in imitating him, we can gradually through our efforts reach a stage at which the right words with beautiful conceits will come of themselves to our pen from memory, so that we eventually become involuntary and unconscious imitators.³ Highly to be praised also is he who so imitates as to disguise his borrowings, which may be done in various ways: by using somewhat different words; by employing varied figures, etc.; by reversing metaphors; by expanding the original; by contracting it; and so following. To these rhetorical subterfuges the rest of the volume is then devoted.⁴

Parthenio's work marks the apogee of the imitation canon. For the six decades which preceded it, the various writers' works I have tried to analyze may be taken as thoroughly typical—at least of the ideas of all serious authorities who mention imitation. Except for Pico (who, though condemning it, yet felt obliged to admit that there might be some argument in favor of imitating, not one, but many good authors), all recommend plagiarism, some more, some less enthusiastically.⁵

¹ Cf. p. 294, n. 3, and pp. 298, 302, above (Demetrius, Horace, Daniello).

² Cf. p. 297, n. 3, and p. 307, n. 3, above (Quintilian, [Pico,] Minturno).

³ This eventual result is similar to that aimed at by Muzio, though Muzio would attain to it (without any earlier conscious imitation) by means of a mere steeping of one's self in many authors; cf. p. 305, n. 2, above.

⁴ *Della Imitatione Poetica* di M. Bernardino Parthenio, "In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, M.D. LX," pp. 10-110, *passim*.

⁵ To the writers of serious treatises of the various types we have considered, we might add, as also earnestly prescribing imitation, men like Dolce and Ruscelli, authors of cheap *Rimarii* and popular handbooks of poetics.

Annibal Caro's qualified approval of imitation (in his *Apologia* [Parma, 1558], esp. pp. 29 ff.) I have left out of consideration, as the *argumentum ad hominum* was in that case too powerfully active. Caro in this *Apologia* was interested solely in formulating rules by which he could defend (against Castelvetro's criticisms) a certain *canone* of his, which he had composed, almost certainly, without any thought of such rules.

Muzio alone, suggesting a method that might well seem sound, even to the twentieth century, avoided urging conscious literary theft. From now on, however, after 1560, imitation as a precept rapidly lost favor.

In 1561 J. C. Scaliger¹ urged imitation for writers in Latin; but even so declared it not essential. Parthenio himself, twenty years after, got out an edition of Horace, with notes by which he demonstrated (as his title-page observes) "the art of the poet, and the road to Imitation and to writing poetry";² but *imitatio* here might well, for all his volume shows to the contrary, be intended for the Aristotelian. An occasional other writer in the last four decades of the century may speak of imitation, especially for Latin composition. But by and large, imitation, after 1560, was a dead issue. Most treatises indeed, from this year on, either do not mention *imitatio* and *imitatione* at all, or use the words exclusively in the Aristotelian sense.³ The one or two who cite them otherwise do it solely to condemn; and of these last, two only need to be considered here.

First, Patrizio, in his *Della rhetorica* of 1562, mentions the plagiaristic imitation merely to declare it inadequate. In the light of Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius, he does not yet venture to condemn it utterly; but he does question its value, and declares that Camillo

It must be noted, on the other hand, that the period was not without some very noisy opposition to the imitation canon; especially to the almost universal imitation of Petrarch. This is not to be found among the serious and academic writers; it was voiced (mainly between 1525 and 1555) by the literary free-lances of the time, the more popular and journalistic writers, who, though often bitter enemies one of another, yet had this cause in common. Francesco Berni, Pietro Aretino, Niccolò Franco, Lodovico Martelli, Anton Francesco Doni, *et al.*, constantly voiced their disgust at the *petrarcholani imparetrarcholati* and all imitators, in comic, satiric, or occasionally serious diatribes. Aretino was the most often serious and the soundest on this point (see especially his letter to Lodovico Dolce, *Del primo libro de le lettere di M. Pietro Aretino* (Parigi, 1609), pp. 122-23). The works of these whimsical writers, however, are strictly outside our present scope; so, albeit with distinct regret (for they are far more readable than the serious theorists), I must confine my notice of them to this passing statement.

¹ *Poetica* (Geneva, 1561), V, 1.

² See *Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergii in Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina atq. Epodis Commentarii quibus Poetae artificium & via ad imitationem atq. ad Poetica scribendum aperitur*, "Venet., M.D. XXCIV."

³ E.g., Giason Denores, *Della rhetorica* (1581), *Poetica* (1588); Patrizio, *Poetica* (1586); T. Tasso, *Discorso dell'arte poetica* (1587); G. Zinano, *Il sogno ovvero della poesia* (1590); etc. Already in 1554, G.-B. Pigna in his *I Romani* (the great rival of Giraldi's *Discorsi*, which had been printed earlier in the same year) mentioned imitation only in the Aristotelian sense; so, naturally (beginning in 1548, when the first commentary on the *Poetics* was printed), did almost all the many commentators on Aristotle.

(the dispersion and mutilation of whose works he, too, deplores) erred in believing men to achieve excellence by the imitation of Cicero, Virgil, Boccaccio, or Petrarch, and in putting all his faith in imitation.¹ Second came Castelvetro, with his famous *Commentary on Aristotle*, to deal all imitation a quite crushing blow.

Though Castelvetro earlier, in his attack of 1558 on Caro,² had made his criticisms largely on the basis of Petrarchan usage, it was then to some extent a matter more of vocabulary and grammar than of ideas, phrases, figures, and the like; so that he attacked Caro's composition perhaps less as a theorist of poetic than as a grammarian.³ Be that as it may, his 1570 treatise on Aristotle's *Poetics* manifests an objection to the imitation canon of such bitterness that he would not so much as use the word "imitation" in any connection at all,⁴ not even to translate Aristotle's *μίμησις*, which he rendered (not unhappily, perhaps) *rappresentazione*. As to plagiarism, he flatly condemned the whole practice of imitating other authors, and boldly censured even Petrarch for having on occasion done so. Incidentally, he offers certain rather quaint details. He writes:

And I must note that there are some of these pilferers (who expect to be considered poets) so abandoned that they dare to maintain that it is permissible to steal things thought of by another poet, since the theft is made without loss to him. Jestingly they say: "If you don't believe so, go and look among his works to see if anything is missing, after all our pilfering. . . ."⁵

¹ See *Della Retorica . . . di M. Francesco Patrizio*, "In Venetia, appresso Francesco Senese, M.D. LXXII," pp. 56-57.

² *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella Canzone d' Annibal Caro . . . ,* Modena, 1559 (?).

³ Indeed, he put some early versions of his strictures into the mouth of a certain Grammaticuccio, whether spontaneously or as a result of some gibe from Caro does not seem quite clear. One or two of his points, however, are definitely literary rather than grammatical: e.g. "Il Petrarca non avrebbe invitato le Muse con così fatte parole *Venite a l'ombra de' gran gigli d' oro* perciocche egli non soule (quantunque prenda le 'nsegne de la famiglie . . . per gli huomini de le famiglie . . .) attribuire cose sconvenevoli a la lor natura. . . . " Caro defended himself (cf. p. 308, n. 5, above) by pointing out that Petrarch, after all, should not be imitated too slavishly; and it may well be that the horror of imitation Castelvetro showed in 1570 was not entirely unconnected with the disastrous outcome of a series of criticisms which he himself had earlier thus based in large measure on the imitation canon.

⁴ His action thus created something of a precedent for certain faddists of our own day who write of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and refuse to countenance even the word "Renaissance."

⁵ See *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et apostata per Lodovico Castelvetro . . . ,* "Stampata in Basilea ad instanza di Pietro de Sedabonis l'anno del signore M.D. LXXVI," pp. 216-17. Castelvetro's thrust is here directed at a phrase in Castiglione's *Prologo to the Calandria of Bibbiena*, written over fifty years previously.

He then pronounces an anathema upon this and other similar flippancies, and solemnly declares, in conclusion, that these robbers of the works of others should be held in abomination as ungrateful, worthless, and deserving of all heavy punishment.

This sounded the death knell of imitation as a serious literary precept;¹ it marked, at the same time, the passing of Cicero and Quintilian as authorities on literary technique, and the complete return to Aristotle.

The history of the imitation canon in the *Cinquecento* is, then, briefly this: It was widespread in the opening years of the century, as a natural result of the vogue of Cicero and Quintilian. Only one serious voice of any weight, that of Giovan Francesco Pico, raised an early protest; and that protest was immediately silenced by the arch-authority of Bembo. During the next fifty years, theorist after theorist urged the validity of literary imitation, differing only as to matters of detail, and constantly using (almost always without acknowledgment) one or another classic precept. The pseudo-Ciceronian definition is repeated by Bembo,² Giraldi, and *Parthenio*. Bembo, Daniello, Cammillo, Giraldi, and *Parthenio* adhere to Cicero's idea of a single model; Pico, Vida, Muzio, and Minturno follow Quintilian in preferring many. Bembo, Speroni, Cammillo, Giraldi, and Minturno believe, as Quintilian had, that imitation "should not be of the words alone." Bembo, Daniello, and Giraldi echo Quintilian's precept that we should not merely follow but endeavor to surpass our model; that we can thus make ourselves rightful owners of what was once the literary property of another is suggested (after Demetrius and Horace) by Daniello and *Parthenio*. Quintilian's justification of neologisms, hinted at by Pico, finds an echo in Minturno and *Parthenio*. And so on.

No serious opposition to the theory developed until more than half the *Cinquecento* had gone by; but then imitation, doubted by Patrizio in 1562, violently attacked by Castelvetro in 1570, fell so

¹ Sporadic attempts to revive it were made, of course, from time to time during the next two centuries, especially, perhaps, in eighteenth-century England (cf. John W. Draper, *loc. cit.*); but all were ultimately unavailing. So, in one respect at least, the Greek seems to have permanently dispossessed the Roman; Aristotle, to have finally deposed Cicero and Quintilian.

² Writers whose names appear here in italics are those who acknowledged their classic sources. The rest wrote, for the most part, almost as if each idea in question were their own original thought.

swiftly into disfavor that it is hardly mentioned (save in the Aristotelian sense) by any other treatise in the last four decades of the century.

In the light of these facts, two points of some significance emerge: First, that the influence of Cicero and Quintilian in the field of rhetoric and poetic lasted well through the first half of the sixteenth century, and definitely yielded to Aristotle (despite earlier sporadic references, etc.) only after 1560. Second, that, until well into the second half of the *Cinquecento*, plagiarism (or what is little short of it) was not only countenanced but deliberately urged on budding authors by the most influential literary theorists of the day.

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THE MANUSCRIPT OF *PARADISE LOST*

The transcript of the first book of *Paradise Lost*, more or less known to Milton students for many years, has recently become accessible in the Pierpont Morgan Library.¹ It was first noticed by Bishop Newton, who states in his edition (1749-52) that the printer Tonson was in possession of such a manuscript "copied fair for the press with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury."² Sotheby described it in his *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton* in 1861 and reproduced two pages and the *imprimatur* in facsimile. While recognizing the likelihood that Tonson inherited the document along with the copyright of the poem from Brabazon Aylmer, who would in turn have had it from the original publisher Simmons, Sotheby argued (p. 199) from the clean condition of the manuscript and from the number of variations between it and the printed text that this could not have been the copy from which the first edition was set. He concluded that it was rather an independent transcript made for the licencer and preserved by him as the document authorizing publication. Masson and later A. W. Pollard, in the introductions to their editions of the poems,³ accept the manuscript as the press transcript but without examining Sotheby's arguments, and doubt has remained in the minds of Milton students as to its true status. The question is obviously important enough from the standpoint of the genealogy of the *Paradise Lost* text to be worth settling one way or the other.

The a priori probability would seem to be, certainly, that the official *imprimatur* was inscribed on the original copy and that the printer, after carrying it to the Stationers' Company for the signature of the warden (in this case Richard Royston) and using it in setting the text, preserved at least the portion of it which bore the authorization in order to protect himself against prosecution. If it is true that

¹ It is being collated for the Columbia edition of Milton by Professor Frank A. Patterson, who has kindly allowed me the use of his materials. I am indebted also to Mr. Roger Howson, of the Columbia Library, and to Miss Belle deCosta Greene, of the Morgan Library, for valuable assistance.

² I, xxxvii.

³ Masson, *Poetical Works*, II, 6; see also *Life of Milton*, VI, 507. For Pollard's statement, see *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (Macmillan, 1904), p. x. The notice of the manuscript in Hanford, *A Milton Handbook*, p. 148, is based on Sotheby.

the licenser objected to the eclipse passage (I, 594 ff.) there was good reason why Simmons should have stitched together the particular pages that have come down to us, protected them with blank sheets at the end, and taken care that they did not share the fate of the rest of Milton's copy.¹

We need not, however, depend on such inferences for the main fact. Re-examination of the manuscript itself shows conclusively that it is indeed a part of the copy prepared by amanuenses² at Milton's direction for the press and that it was actually used in setting Book I of the 1667 text.

The most conspicuous and decisive piece of evidence is to be found in the traces, hitherto unnoticed, of a series of numbers from 1 to 8, crudely written in the margins by another hand than that of the original copyist, at thirty-two-line intervals beginning with line 495 of the poem. The "1," the "2," the "4," the "5," the "7," and the "8" opposite lines 495, 527, 591, 623, 687, and 719, respectively, are clearly legible. The "3" and the "6," which presumably stood opposite lines 559 and 655, have disappeared through damage to the manuscript at these points. Opposite line 751 there occurs the letter *D*. The numbers obviously represent the printer's calculation of pages, and they correspond exactly to the third signature of the 1667 text, which begins with line 495 and runs thirty-two lines to the page. The *D* marks the beginning of the fourth signature, and is reproduced in the 1667 edition.

Why the pages of signature *C* and not those of the earlier signatures were thus indicated may easily be inferred. The compositor began to set in galley, but finding that he could by a little crowding make the lines of the poem correspond to the lines of type without running over,³ he did precisely as a modern printer might do—he made

¹ The preserved manuscripts of the minor poems contain part of a press transcript of the later sonnets, but this was not the copy finally used by the printer (see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 479).

² The original hand is identical with that which wrote the entries on p. 249 of Milton's *Commonplace Book*. The error "sealy" for "scaly" (I, 206), subsequently corrected, confirms what is otherwise clear enough, that this amanuensis was copying, not taking dictation.

³ The ornamental initial made it necessary to run over in the first three or four lines of each book. Elsewhere he never fails to get thirty-two lines of the poem on a page, although he is occasionally forced to print the last word above or below in the space left blank at the end of the preceding or following line. We may assume that after establishing the first page in each later book he proceeded throughout the poem as he had done for the last part of Book I.

up the page forms of the first two signatures, and paged the third as he went along. Spacing off the text ahead saved the trouble of counting up for each page while he was setting it. The *D* was to show him when he had finished this signature and to remind him of the proper symbol for the next.¹

With this assurance that the Morgan MS really passed through the hands of the printer we can readily discount the difficulties suggested by Sotheby. Regarding the cleanliness of the copy I cannot speak, for I have seen only a photostat. The divergences in the two texts, though very numerous, need not trouble us. The changes, as, for example, the elimination of large numbers of final *e*'s, are for the most part such as a printer would naturally make in the interests of economy in composition, or they represent simply his judgment of style as opposed to the author's. The violence that is done to the text by certain of the rule-of-thumb alterations or of the more hap-hazard ones shows clearly enough that they were none of Milton's.²

More significant for the present discussion is the close adherence of the printed text to the manuscript in many of its minute idiosyncrasies. Both have, for example, "mans" in line 1, "Amrams" in line 339, etc., without the sign of possession, but "Siloa's" in line 10 and "Ely's" in line 495; and both employ the plural "seat's" in line 796 and "arm's" in line 84 against "seats" in line 383 and "arms" in line 269. The situation is equally clear in the case of the spelling of certain classes of words in *y*. Milton had evidently taken pains in the manuscript to have these brought into conformity with his own standard of correctness. Thus the copyist's original writing of "soyle" (l. 242), "voyce," "armyes," and "Idolatryes" is altered to "soile," "voice," "armies," and "idolatries," etc., these and one or two larger eleventh-hour corrections being in a different hand from the main body of the

¹ A similar set of symbols indicating page and signature is to be found in the manuscript of Harrington's *Ariosto* described by Greg, *Library*, September, 1923, pp. 102 ff. I have been unable to consult either this manuscript or the transcript of Herbert's poems mentioned by Palmer (*Life and Works of George Herbert*, I, 176) as probably the printer's copy for the 1633 edition. Oddly enough both Greg and Palmer comment on the surprisingly clean condition of these manuscripts.

² For example, ll. 227-31, where the manuscript has

" . . . till on dry land
He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire,
And such appeared in hue; as when the force
Of subterranean winds. . . ."

The 1667, by reading "fire," "hue," gives a wrong application to the simile.

text. But the corrector was careless and often failed to make the appropriate alterations, as in "delayes" (l. 208), "choyce" (l. 261), and "soyle" (ll. 562, 691). The spellings in the 1667 text, with few exceptions, follow those of the manuscript in their variations. A minor point, finally, in confirmation of the fact that the 1667 text was set from the Morgan MS, is to be found in line 25. The copyist first wrote "the eternal" and then deleted "the." He did this so faintly, however, that the compositor failed to notice it and printed the original reading, the correction being subsequently made in the errata.

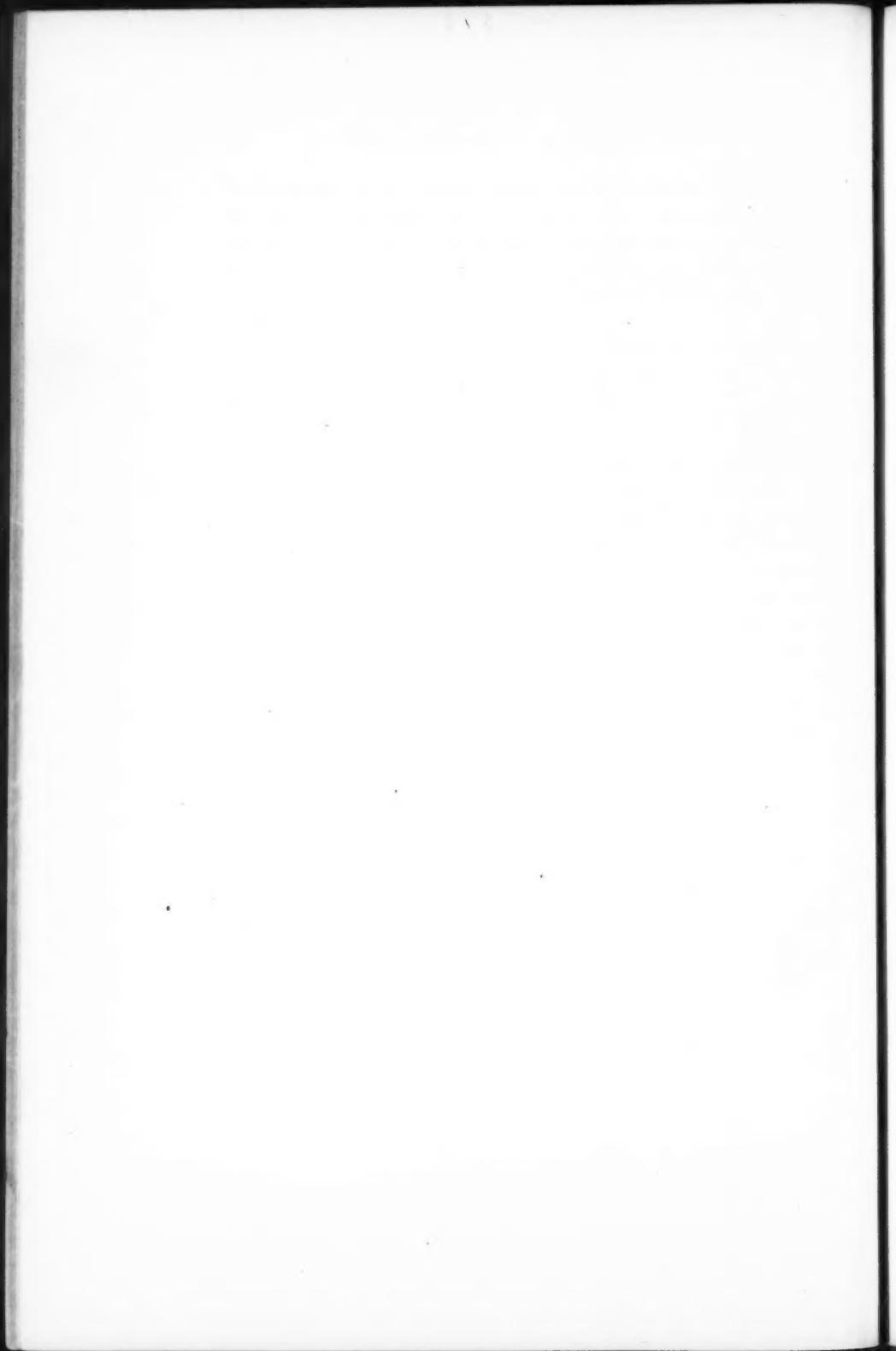
From the facts thus established interesting conclusions are suggested with regard to the printed text of *Paradise Lost* in its relation to Milton's wishes. The circumstance that the proof of the 1667 edition must have come to him already paged perhaps discouraged him from making many alterations. But it is a fair question whether any proof ever came to him at all. At least, I am unable to point to a single clear author's change in the earliest issue of the 1667, and it is difficult to believe that if he had had the text read to him, however hastily, before the sheets were struck off he would have failed to carry out some of the designated improvements which the corrector of the manuscript had only partly succeeded in executing. What treachery of printer Simmons or what incapacitating personal or domestic circumstances lie behind these facts we can only guess. Later, Milton returned to the task of perfecting both the poem and the printed text. The errata list which first appeared in later issues of the 1667 edition contains corrections, like the famous "for we read wee," which are *aut Miltonius aut diabolus*, and the 1674 edition, though it was set from the 1667, goes much further in restoring spellings to which the poet attached importance, sometimes returning to the manuscript, sometimes improving on it. But such corrections are a mere drop in the bucket, and, as if to compensate for the occasional alterations which Milton managed to detect the need of as the proof was read to him, the 1674 printer has indulged in a new set of clearly unauthorized departures from the manuscript in points where it was adhered to in the edition of 1667. Obviously there is a modicum of truth in Bentley's theory of a secret corrupter of the Miltonic text, and merit still to be acquired in Elysium by the pious yet daring editor who will

undertake to carry out *ad unguem* the fastidious poet's minute intentions. Such a restoration, however, is to be made, not by consulting the oracles of classic taste, but by scanning in detail the data afforded by the manuscript and the early prints, and its results will not be startling to the reading public.¹

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¹ The Columbia edition, which reprints the 1674 text, will give also the readings from the early issues. There is not even the approximation of such an *apparatus criticus* for *Paradise Lost* now available, and the modern reprints of the originals are not to be trusted in *minutiae*. In suggesting the possibility of a restoration of the *Paradise Lost* text, at least in the first book, to a form which it never had except in idea, I do not forget Professor Grierson's painstaking and skilful effort in his recent edition of the *Poems*, nor do I quarrel with his eclectic normalization of certain of Milton's spellings, though it might be argued that if the poet commonly spelled "blood" in two ways and the prints so give it, the inconsistency should be allowed to stand as the record of his indifference. But Professor Grierson evidently did not have access to the Morgan manuscript, which would have furnished him with more than one deliberate Miltonic choice of the sort which he rightly considers it important to preserve.



NEW DATA ON KEATS'S FRIEND REYNOLDS

In view of the personal intimacy and the close intellectual companionship indicated by Keats's letters to his friend John Hamilton Reynolds, it is surprising how scattered and how scanty the printed information about Reynolds is. Except for incidental mention here and there in works on Keats, on Thomas Hood (whose wife was Reynolds' sister Jane), and on a few other contemporaries whose lives Reynolds touched in one way or another, the only important discussions of him as a personality in his own right are the following, and all of them are very brief:

1. An obituary notice in *The Athenaeum* for 1852,¹ marked "Dilke" in an editorial file of that journal in which the authorship of many articles is indicated, according to information communicated to me by Mr. John Randall, who for many years up to 1925 was sub-editor of *The Athenaeum* and its successor. Dilke had known Reynolds for about thirty-five years. This *Athenaeum* obituary was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1853.²

2. A communication signed "T. M. T." in *Notes and Queries* for October 4, 1856,³ also evidently written from personal acquaintance and knowledge. A number of later bits in *Notes and Queries*⁴ add a few details.

3. A very brief article in Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 1870.⁵

4. Essays on Reynolds' *The Fancy* and *Peter Bell* in Sir Edmund Gosse's *Gossip in a Library* (1891).

5. The discussion by "R. G." (Sir Richard Garnett) in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1896).⁶

¹ The issue of November 27, p. 1296.

² *Op. cit.* (N.S.), XXXIX, 100.

³ *Op. cit.* (2d ser.), II, 274.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 219; *ibid.* (4th ser.), VIII, 408, 489; *ibid.* (8th ser.), V, 361; *ibid.* (10th ser.), II, 67; *ibid.* (11th ser.), V, 88, 172, 237, 337; *ibid.* (12th ser.), III, 360; also CXLVI, 119.

⁵ III, 1778.

⁶ XLVIII, 50, in the original edition; XVI, 936, in the reissue of 1909.

6. The Introduction by Mr. John Masefield in his reprint of *The Fancy* in 1905.¹

7. A sufficiently large portion of chapter viii, "Keats and His Circle," in Henry C. Shelley's *Literary By-Paths in Old England* (1906),² to be singled out from other discussions merely incidental to Keats or Hood or someone else.

Some study of Reynolds enables me to supply corrective or supplementary material on several topics that are given subheadings below.

I. DATE OF BIRTH

Through the kindness of the vicar of St. Mary's Parish, Shrewsbury, I am able to state that the date of Reynolds' birth as given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—September 9, 1796—is two years too late. John Hamilton Reynolds, son of George and Charlotte Reynolds, was baptized at St. Mary's on September 29, 1794.³ This date fits better with various bits of circumstantial evidence that caused me to doubt the *D.N.B.* date, of which the following are most worth mention:

1. The record of Reynolds' entrance at St. Paul's School says that in March, 1806, he was "aged 11."⁴

2. The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1853,⁵ says Reynolds was "aged 58" at the time of his death during the preceding November.

3. Leigh Hunt, who must have known the facts, thought Keats, who was born October 31, 1795, was younger than Reynolds—was the youngest of the three promising "young poets," Shelley, Reynolds, and Keats, whom he discussed in the *Examiner* for December 1, 1816.⁶

4. In Reynolds' biographical sketch of his fictitious Peter Corcoran in *The Fancy*, he assigns to Peter his own birthplace, Shrewsbury, and his own birthday, September 9, but makes the year 1794.⁷

5. If 1796 were the correct date, we should have this amazing dis-

¹ Elkin Mathews, London, with illustrations by Jack B. Yeats.

² Pp. 221-44. The material had mostly appeared previously in an article by Mr. Shelley in the *Lamp*, XXVIII (July, 1904), 451.

³ Information from the Parish Register communicated to me in a personal letter from Rev. Cyril E. Jarman, vicar of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, March 9, 1926.

⁴ R. B. Gardner: *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School from 1748 to 1876* (London, 1884), p. 231.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 100. ⁶ *Op. cit.* (1816), p. 761. ⁷ *The Fancy* (London, 1820), p. vi.

play of precocity, perhaps second only to that of Chatterton in the history of English literature: Reynolds wrote and published *Saqie* when but a few months past seventeen years of age; wrote and published *The Eden of Imagination* before he was eighteen; probably wrote and published an ode on Napoleon at Elba when but a little past eighteen; wrote and published *The Naiad* and was an extensive contributor and trusted dramatic reviewer for an important weekly newspaper, the *Champion*, before he was twenty. Even with two years added to the age, this is a sufficiently remarkable record.

My letter from the vicar of St. Mary's suggests the probability of error in other dates heretofore given for members of the Reynolds family. The late Amy Lowell thought the oldest child was Eliza, who married a Mr. Longmore of Chelmsford, Essex, before Keats knew the family;¹ but the date of this daughter's baptism was November 20, 1799. Mariane (or Marianne), one of the sisters with whom Keats corresponded, was said by Buxton Forman to have been born February 23, 1793;² but the evidence of the Parish Register puts her baptism at St. Mary's on April 27, 1797. Rev. Mr. Jarman found no record of Jane Reynolds' baptism; but obviously the date Forman gave for her birth—November 6, 1794³—cannot be correct if her brother John was born in September, 1794. In one instance the Parish Register is in harmony with Forman's date: he says the youngest sister, Charlotte, was born May 12, 1802; the date of baptism is May 16, 1802.

II. GEORGE REYNOLDS, THE FATHER

Up to the publication of Henry C. Shelley's article in the *Lamp*⁴ no one seems to have known much more about John Hamilton Reynolds' father than that he was writing-master at Christ's Hospital. Mr. Shelley and Mr. Walter Jerrold in his life of Hood⁵ supplied a portrait and some information, but the data I am able to give in the following paragraphs are almost wholly new.

The George Reynolds who later became writing-master in Christ's Hospital was born in London, probably in January, 1765, for he was baptized January 20 of that year at St. Olave's, Hart Street, E.C.

¹ *John Keats*, I, 197.

² Forman, *Complete Works of John Keats* (Glasgow, 1901), IV, xviii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

⁴ P. 320, n. 2, above.

⁵ *Thomas Hood, His Life and Times* (1907).

"He was the only son of Noble Reynolds of St. Michael, Cornhill, who was a freeman of the City of London and of the Barbers' Company."¹ From March 16, 1774, to October 13, 1779, George Reynolds was a pupil in the school in which many years later he taught; he was a "Blue Coat boy."

When or where George Reynolds completed his education and began to teach, I have not learned; but during his residence in Shrewsbury he was a teacher, being described in a record of baptism of 1799 as "writing master" and in a record of 1802 as "school master."² In 1803 the Reynolds family must still have lived in Shrewsbury, for in that year the boy John Hamilton entered Shrewsbury School.³ The removal of the family to London probably took place late in 1805 or early in 1806, March 4, 1806, being the date of the boy's entrance at St. Paul's School.⁴

George Reynolds was not appointed writing-master in Christ's Hospital, however, until May, 1817, though the school records show seven years' previous service by him as usher in the writing-school of the Hospital.⁵ This service as usher need not have been consecutive; part of it may even have preceded the employment in Shrewsbury; at any rate, during a portion of the time between 1806 and 1817 this worthy schoolmaster's major employment can be shown to have been in the Lambeth Boys' Parochial School and the Female Asylum, Lambeth.

There are in the British Museum, bound in with other small educational pamphlets, but duly catalogued under the name "George Reynolds," five little textbooks—previously unnoticed in relation to this family—from the title-pages of which I copy the following portions:

1. *The Teachers Arithmetic on the Rev. Dr. Bell's System.*⁶
By George Reynolds, Master of the Lambeth Boys' Parochial School, and Writing Master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth. . . . 1812.⁷

¹ I quote from a letter from T. E. Limmer, Esq., clerk of Christ's Hospital, November, 1925.

² Letter, previously cited, from Rev. Mr. Jarman.

³ *Shrewsbury School Register 1734-1908* (ed. J. E. Auden, 1909), p. 19.

⁴ Gardner, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Letter of clerk of Christ's Hospital, previously cited.

⁶ Dr. Andrew Bell (1753-1832), who became superintendent of the Madras Male Orphan Asylum in 1789 and devised what was widely known and practiced as the "Madras System of Education." See *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 149, in reissue of 1908.

⁷ This book mentions as by the same author *The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, in Questions and Answers on Dr. Bell's Plan*, and quotes from reviews of the latter book dated 1809.

2. *The Madras School Grammar; or, The New System Reduced to Questions and Answers.* Chiefly arranged from the Rev. Dr. Bell's instructions, with such improvements as the author has introduced into his school with considerable success. By George Reynolds, Master of the Lambeth School, and Writing Master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth. [There is no date on the title-page, but a dedication of the book to the Archbishop of Canterbury is dated February 16, 1813.]

3. *The First Elements of Arithmetic* comprising the first four rules combined into one sum, and taught in one operation; and now in use at Christ's Hospital. By George Reynolds, Writing Master, Christ's Hospital. 1818.¹

4. *The First Class Copy-Down Book of Arithmetic*. For the Use of Christ's Hospital. By George Reynolds, Writing Master, Christ's Hospital. Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street. 1822.²

5. *Exercises in Arithmetic*. By George Reynolds, late Head Master of the Writing School, Christ's Hospital. 1838.

Should further evidence be desired that all these textbooks are by the same George Reynolds, I may cite the facts that "Dr. Bell's system," in which the Lambeth master was evidently a recognized specialist, was adopted in Christ's Hospital;³ and that the Hospital paid its former pupil, George Reynolds, in 1809, "a gratuity of £20 for visiting the Hertford School, and introducing there Dr. Bell's system of education."⁴ There is also evidence of the residence of John Hamilton Reynolds' family in Lambeth: A volume of poems published in 1812 by the Shrewsbury lawyer and poetaster to whom Reynolds, in 1814, dedicated his *Eden of Imagination*, contains a poem "To Mrs. Reynolds, of Lambeth, with a Goose"⁵—the poem indicating that "Mrs. Reynolds, of Lambeth," formerly lived in Shrewsbury. And one of the earliest published poems by "J. H. R." is dated at Lambeth.⁶

George Reynolds continued as writing-master at Christ's Hospital from his appointment in 1817 until he was retired on a pension at

¹ An "Advertisement" says, "The First Series may be had of the Author, at his House, Christ's-Hospital, Little Britain."

² Identification of this George Reynolds, writing-master at Christ's Hospital, with the George Reynolds who was in 1812 and 1813 master of the Lambeth School—if demanded—is made by an advertisement of *The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, explained in Questions and Answers* (3d ed.) as "by the Author of this Work." See note on book No. 1, above.

³ "Bell," *D.N.B.* (reissue of 1908), II, 150.

⁴ Letter from clerk of Christ's Hospital, previously cited.

⁵ John F. M. Dovaston, *Fits-Guarine with other Rhymes* (Shrewsbury, 1812).

⁶ "The Hand," *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXV¹ (January, 1815), 63. This poem clearly alludes to the same youthful bereavement that prompted other early poems by Reynolds, one of them in *The Naiad* volume.

seventy years of age in March, 1835. During at least a portion of this period, however, he seems to have continued to be "writing master to the Female Asylum, Lambeth," for a letter of his son dated July 4, 1820, asks John Taylor (the publisher, of Taylor and Hessey) for aid in a protest against a suggested cut of salary for this service to the Female Asylum. "My father"—says "J. H. R."—"among his various places of emolument hold[s] the place of Writing Master to the Asylum & he has held it for the last 15 years."¹ George Reynolds outlived his son, his death not occurring until July 29, 1853.

III. REYNOLDS AND THE AMICABLE SOCIETY

I have been unable to learn how long the young John Reynolds remained in St. Paul's School; the records which give his date of entrance seem to lack the date of exit. But "T. M. T.'s" notice of 1856 in *Notes and Queries*² says he finished his education in that school and then became a clerk in the Amicable Insurance Office. The Amicable Society for a Perpetual Assurance Office, founded in 1705, is said to have been the oldest life insurance company in the world, and for about a hundred years from 1737 it occupied an office in Sergeant's Inn, Fleet Street. In 1866 it was amalgamated with the Norwich Union.³ Present officers of the latter company have kindly examined for me the surviving Amicable records; and a letter from W. W. Williamson, Esq., assistant actuary of the Norwich Union, dated March 18, 1927, presents the following information:

A person who wished to effect a policy with the Amicable had to make a "Declaration" . . . and we think we are correct in saying that it was customary to call at the Office of the Society for this purpose, the declaration being witnessed by one of the clerks. . . . It appears from the Minutes that on 10th. February 1810 there were three clerks, while the Minutes of 30th. March 1808, 29th. April 1809, 28th. March 1810, and 27th. March 1811 indicate that the name of the chief clerk was William Forrest and the name of the second clerk John Griffin. The name of the third clerk was not mentioned. For some time prior to July 1810 practically all the declarations referred to above were witnessed by the second clerk, John Griffin, but on 18th. July 1810 a declaration was witnessed by J. H. Reynolds. After this date most of the declarations were witnessed by Mr. Reynolds until 1816 when some were witnessed by J. H. Reynolds and some by W. B. Wedlake. The last declara-

¹ From letter No. 21 in the "Woodhouse Book" in the Morgan Library, New York.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 319 above.

³ See *Peeps into the Past, a Souvenir of the Bi-Centenary of the Old Amicable Society, etc.* (J. J. W. Deuchas ed.; Norwich, 1908).

tion by Mr. Reynolds that we can trace is dated 24th. April 1816. It appears therefore that Mr. Reynolds entered the service of the Amicable not later than July 1810 and remained with the Society at any rate until April 1816. . . . We think from the above it seems reasonably certain that he must have been the third clerk in 1810, and in view of the fact that Mr. Griffin was mentioned by name in the Minute of 27th. March 1811 but not on 22nd. April 1812 it is possible that Mr. Griffin may have left the service of the Society between these dates and that Mr. Reynolds may have been promoted to second clerk.

Mr. Williamson sent me also one of the signatures, "J. H. Reynolds," to a declaration, and it is like the signatures of Reynolds that I have seen.

IV. CORRECTION OF MISCELLANEOUS ERRORS

Investigation has revealed various errors on scattered topics in the primary sources of information listed at the beginning of this article, and in other places, which it seems worth while to list here.

The *Dictionary of National Biography*—besides the error in date of birth, which unfortunately has been accepted by practically everybody having occasion to refer to Reynolds—errs also in saying that Reynolds "wrote in Thomas Jonathan Wooler's *Black Dwarf*." The *Black Dwarf* was a radical political weekly without literary or dramatic departments. I have examined it and found no indication that Reynolds could have written for it; but we know from the letters of Keats that he did contribute to John Hunt's *Yellow Dwarf*¹ in 1818.

The *D.N.B.* also errs in saying that Coleridge ascribed Reynolds' *Peter Bell* to Lamb. Lamb was, as Coleridge well knew, too good a Wordsworthian to be guilty of so malicious a satire. But several years later Coleridge did insist in a letter to Lamb that he could think of no other person who could have written the *Odes and Addresses to Great People*,² a joint work by Hood and Reynolds.

Other *D.N.B.* errors are: putting Reynolds' contribution to the *Edinburgh Review* after 1824, whereas Keats mentions the matter about the end of 1818;³ and sending Reynolds to the Isle of Wight nearly ten years too early—he went in 1847 instead of about 1838.⁴

¹ Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 76.

² *Memorials of Thomas Hood*, by his daughter (Ticknor and Fields ed.; Boston, 1861), I, 15-17.

³ Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 193.

⁴ See *Notes and Queries* (12th ser.), III, 425; Prothero's edition of the *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, III (1899), 46. A group of letters from Reynolds to Richard Monckton Milnes—later Lord Houghton—now in the possession of the Marquess of Crewe, the son of Lord Houghton, also indicate that 1847 is the correct date. Lord Crewe very kindly had copies of these letters made for me and they will appear in full in an edition of selections from Reynolds soon to be issued in the "Oxford Miscellany" series.

The *Athenaeum* obituary of 1852 was perhaps the source of the *D.N.B.* error in saying Coleridge attributed *Peter Bell* to Lamb. The same article also errs in saying that Keats's poem on "Robin Hood" was "suggested, according to our recollection, by one on Sherwood Forest, or Bradgate Park, by Reynolds, published in the *London Magazine*." Unfortunately, Keats's "Robin Hood" was written in 1818, nearly two years before the *London Magazine* was started, and was a reply to sonnets by Reynolds on Robin Hood which first appeared in the *Yellow Dwarf* February 28, 1818.

"T. M. T.'s" article in *Notes and Queries* errs in dating *The Eden of Imagination* 1815 (it was published in August, 1814), and in saying that all of Reynolds' works except *Safie* (the first one) were anonymous. *Safie* and *The Eden of Imagination* both bore "By J. H. Reynolds" on their title-pages; and *The Garden of Florence* very slightly disguised its author as "John Hamilton." "T. M. T." repeated the *Athenaeum* writer's error as to Keats's "Robin Hood."

Forman, Colvin, and Amy Lowell, in writing on Keats, and Mr. Walter Jerrold, in his biography of Hood, give, without any citation of authority, dates of birth for the sisters of Reynolds that are not in harmony with the evidence of the Shrewsbury Parish Register cited in Section I of this article.

Amy Lowell, also, fell into a singular topographical error in placing Lamb's Conduit Street, London, in Little Britain;¹ whereas Little Britain is itself a street and is a long way from Lamb's Conduit Street. Miss Lowell seems to have been misled by the fact that letters of Keats indicate the home of the Reynolds family to have been in Lamb's Conduit Street in October, 1817, but in Little Britain in the following March.² This, however, is readily accounted for on the supposition that when George Reynolds began his service as writing-master to Christ's Hospital in May, 1817, none of the houses provided by the school for its masters was available; but that by March, 1818, he had moved into one of the masters' houses in Little Britain, adjacent to Christ's Hospital.

V. REYNOLDS IN HIS LATER YEARS

Interest in Reynolds having been mainly an "aside" to interest in Keats, details of his life after the death of Keats have been—indeed, still are—meager and scattered. Some new material as to his literary

¹ *John Keats*, I, 197.

² Forman, *op. cit.*, IV, 37, 94.

activities I present in another article; a few bits as to his life as a man and a solicitor may conclude this discussion.

According to a notice in the *London Magazine* for October, 1822,¹ August 31 was the date, Trinity Church, Exeter, the place of the marriage of "J. H. Reynolds, Esq., Solicitor, of Great Marlborough-street, London, to Eliza Powell, eldest daughter of the late W. Drewe, Esq., of South-street, Exeter." One daughter seems to have been the only child of this union, and she died at the age of ten, apparently not long before January 9, 1835.² A note by Thomas Hood the younger, in his sister's *Memorials* of their father,³ indicates that Mrs. Reynolds survived her husband and was still alive when the Hoods were preparing their book about 1858 or 1859; she declined to give access to Hood's letters to Reynolds.

London directories give the address of "John H. Reynolds, Solicitor," as follows: in 1832, 27 Golden Square; 1836-38, 10 Great Marlborough Street; in 1841-42, 10 Adam Street, Adelphi. And the Houghton letters, already mentioned, indicate that his last address before going to the Isle of Wight was 88 Guildford Street, Russell Square.

A collection of letters by George Keats to the Dilkes from 1825 to 1833, which belonged to the late Amy Lowell and are now in the Harvard University Library, cast some light on Reynolds during those years. In a letter of April 20, 1825, George expressed his own incompetency to write a life of his brother John and suggested that "Reynolds and yourself [Dilke] are I think every way Competent to execute it with truth, feeling, and good taste." Five years later (May 7, 1830) George wrote to Dilke in protest about an expected life of Keats by Charles Brown in which George feared unkind treatment of himself. Again he offered his "recollections of John's early life," and expressed the opinion "that Reynolds and not Brown is the man to write it." March 19, 1829, in writing to Mrs. Dilke, George mentioned a letter from Mrs. Reynolds (Sr.) and remarked: "It must be gratifying to her to witness the success of John, whose start in life was by no means so promising." Soon, however, the letters to Dilke indicate money difficulties with Reynolds or with "R. and R." (Rice and Reynolds). Apparently the trouble came to a head about 1832 in "inattention

¹ *Monthly Register*, VI, 56.

² According to a letter of that date by John Taylor, the publisher, to John Clare, the poet, quoted by Mr. Edmund Blunden in "New Sidelights on Keats, Lamb, and Others, from Letters to John Clare," *London Mercury*, IV (June, 1921), 141 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 10, 11.

[by Reynolds] to his acceptance of a money order." "Mr. Llanos [Fanny Keats's husband] complains bitterly of Reynolds, and I fear Reynolds is to blame, and hope he will do justice without the horror of a lawsuit."¹ And November 23, 1833, George wrote to Dilke as follows:

I supposed from the on dits reported to me by Mrs. K. that Reynolds was in excellent circumstances, I am sorry to hear the contrary, altho' it is certainly better that he should fail in his engagements in consequence of want of means than because he is too avaricious to disgorge from a full purse. I thought him strangely negligent of my just demands—he may be even now obtaining money from Abbey on my account, could you ascertain anything on that subject without disagreeable consequences. It is most likely that he has not honoured my order in favor of Mrs. Llanos which I very much regret since I feel that when I am living in comparative ease and affluence she should not be needing.

This bit of evidence tends to support rather vague assertions as to lack of success by Reynolds as a solicitor, in the *Athenaeum* and *Notes and Queries* articles already mentioned.

Sometime between December 30, 1846, and July 2, 1847,² Reynolds ceased to be a solicitor and became deputy clerk of the newly organized County Court at Newport, Isle of Wight. Mr. R. E. Prothero (now Lord Ernle), in a note already referred to, in his edition of Byron's *Letters and Journals*,³ has given the most positive information we have as to Reynolds at Newport; and in a letter to Mr. Louis A. Holman, of Boston, dated June 21, 1913,⁴ explained the source of his assertions as follows:

It is a fact that for the last few years of his life Reynolds drank habitually, and gradually sank in the social scale. I know this because I lived for nearly thirty years of my life within three miles of the town of Newport, and many of the inhabitants of that town knew Reynolds well. There is no doubt about the fact; but whether it is necessary to rake up such an incident in the close of his career I do not know.

It is, indeed, unfortunate that the facts should justify such an assertion, which gives the last years of Reynolds at Newport somewhat

¹ Letter of George Keats to Charles Dilke, May 11, 1832.

² As shown by the Houghton letters, one of the former date bearing "88 Guildford Street" as the address; the next one, of the latter date, "Newport, Isle of Wight."

³ *Op. cit.*, III, 46.

⁴ Mr. Holman showed me this letter, and I quote from it by his kind permission.

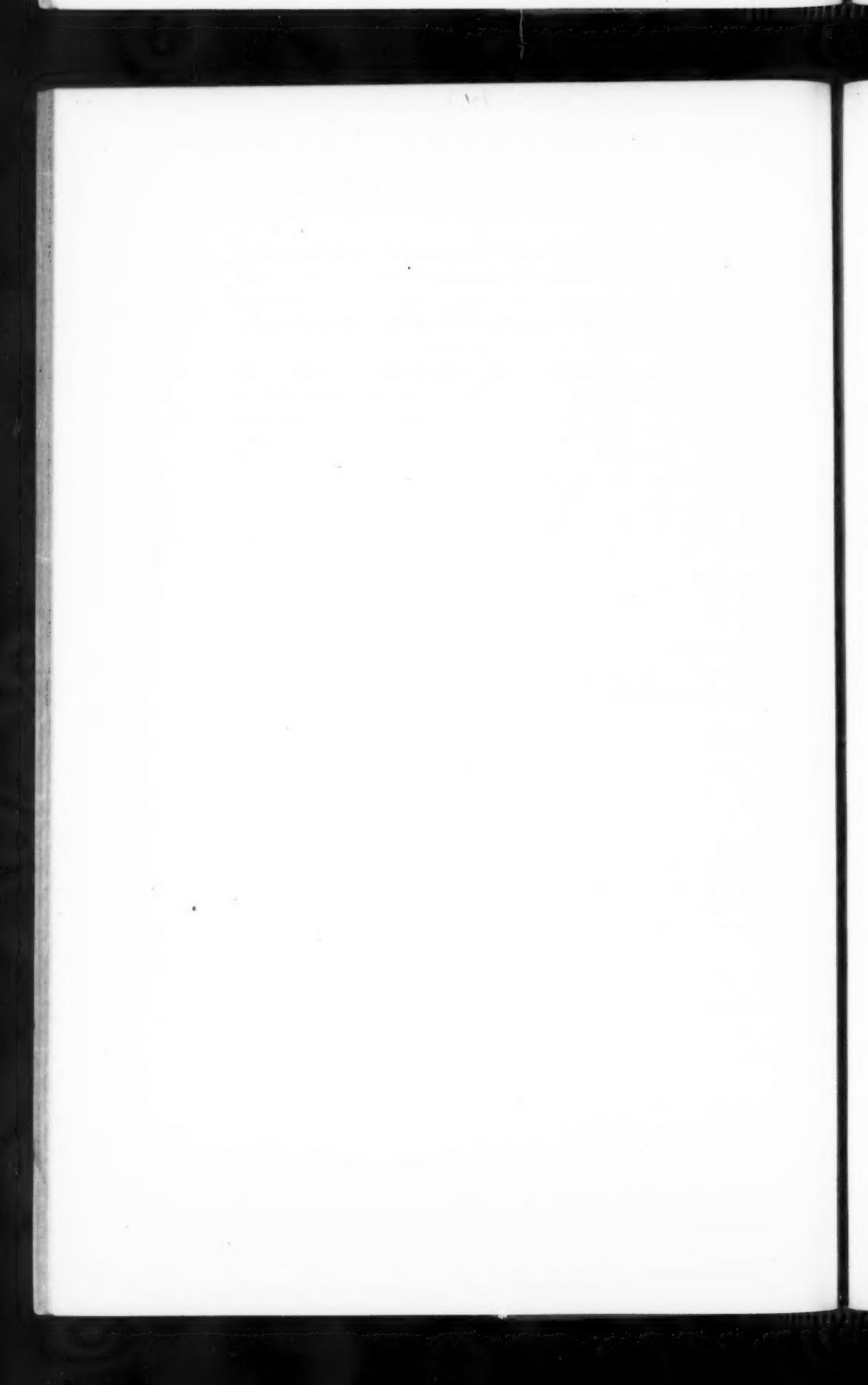
the color of the last years of Burns at Dumfries; but, at any rate, there is some satisfaction in knowing the evidence.

By way of summary I would call attention to the following as the most important points in the foregoing pages:

1. Correction of error as to the date of Reynolds' birth, making it two years earlier than as given in the *D.N.B.* but in harmony with all other evidence on the subject. The parish register that makes 1794, not 1796, the year of Reynolds' birth also indicates error in the assertions of the principal authorities on Keats as to the years of birth of the sisters of Reynolds who also were friends of Keats.
2. The details as to the life and work of George Reynolds, the father, especially his authorship of at least six schoolbooks and his teaching in Shrewsbury and Lambeth in addition to his previously known work in Christ's Hospital.
3. Exact data as to Reynolds' employment by the Amicable Society.
4. Evidence, especially that from unpublished letters of George Keats and Lord Ernle, in confirmation of previous vague assertions as to Reynolds in his later years.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE PÈLERINAGE CHARLEMAGNE

Ribaldry and piety, heroism and farce, realism and fantasy, make up the extraordinary mélange we know as the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*. In 1907 when M. Coulet's impressive study appeared, French and German scholars were still at odds as to what to call the poem—an epic and therefore noble?¹ a *fabliau*, parody, *conte à rire*, and therefore not noble at all? For some seven hundred years this boastful, rollicking figure among the stately dignitaries of the old *chansons de geste* has escaped, and in all probability will continue to escape, exact classification.

But that is not to say that the poem is in itself mysterious. More than twenty years ago much was known about its antecedents in legend and tale, and about its connection with certain holy relics and with the great fair held at St. Denis, near Paris. The attempts, however, to elucidate it as purely an expression of *l'esprit gaulois* have always left something unexplained. No scholar's skill could ever make it quite credible that the revered and mighty Charlemagne of the Jerusalem episode was identical with the almost comic Charlemagne of Constantinople. M. Coulet argued (pp. 323-27) very plausibly for the unity of the two stories in the tradition used by our poet, but no skill could suffice ultimately to hide the fact that this unity was made up of utterly diverse elements. It was made by one who took now from fact, now from fiction. The poet's debt to fact, to things he at least believed were real, things in Paris, in St. Denis, in Jerusalem, was long since made clear by Gaston Paris² and other scholars. The poet's debt to secular fiction, and particularly to Celtic fiction, was first proposed in a brief but illuminating article by Professor Kenneth Webster.³ It is the purpose of this paper to follow up some of the clues

¹ J. Coulet, *Etudes sur l'ancien poème français du Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient* (Montpellier, 1907). Previous interpretations of the poem are here reviewed (pp. 327-68); on pp. 368-82 M. Coulet gives his own theory, i.e., that the poem was serious in purpose, adapted "à un dessin d'éducation et à une pensée morale qui fait l'unité" (p. 368).

² *Romania*, IX (1880), 1-50; Coulet, pp. 72-236.

³ "Notes on the Ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall and on the Pilgrimage of Charlemagne," *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 337-69.

proposed by him and especially to develop the idea on which he touched only tentatively, namely, that even the *douze pairs* of this episode might be primitive in origin. The first essential is to investigate the sources of the background, the whole setting provided for the peers in the Constantinople episode.

THE LOCALIZATION

The story tells us that Charlemagne, spurred by his wife's boast of the superior splendor of Hugo le Fort, emperor of Constantinople, sets out to find him. Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem is described with topographical correctness; Jerusalem itself with approximate realism. When, however, Charlemagne decides to return to France by way of Constantinople, the description that follows is of quite a different character. A singularly brief itinerary gets him from Jerusalem to Jericho, over the hills of Abilant, past the Rock of Guitume, whatever that may be, and so into sight of the magnificent city.

Virent Constantinoble, une citet vaillant,
 Les clochiers et les egles et les pons reluisanz.
 Destre part la citet demie liue grant
 Troevent vergiers plantez de pins et loriers blans;
 La rose i est florie, li alborz et l'aiglenz.
 Vint milie chevaliers i troverent seanz,—
 Et sont vestut de palies et d'ermines toz blans
 Et de granz pels de martre josqu'as piez trainanz.
 As eschies et as tables se vont esbanciant,
 Et portent lor falcons et lor ostors alquant—
 Et treis milie pulceles a orfreis reluisanz.
 Vestués sont de palies, s'ont les cors avenanz,
 Et tienent lor amis, si se vont deportant.¹

Charlemagne now asks where is the king of this land and is told by one of the strange knights to ride until he sees the king sitting under a silken canopy. Charlemagne finds Hugo plowing; the yokes are of shining gold, likewise the axles, the wheels, and the plowshare. Hugo does not go on foot but is drawn in a seat of gold swung between two strong mules. He sits on a cushion of Persian silk with a silver foot-

¹ Vss. 262-74, from the reconstructed text of Koschwitz' edition, *Karls des grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinople* (Leipzig, 1901); 5th ed.; a sixth edition appeared in 1913. An edition by A. J. Cooper (Paris, 1925) has an English Glossary. *The Merry Pilgrimage* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), by M. Sherwood, offers a version of the story in English.

stool for his feet. Four golden columns support a silken canopy above him. He carries a scepter of red gold. The two kings exchange friendly greetings, and Hugo offers Charlemagne a year's hospitality. When Hugo descends, Charlemagne protests that the golden plow should not be left without guard; Hugo assures him there are no thieves in his realm; the plow could stay safely in the field for seven years. They start together for the palace.

From Gaston Paris to M. Coulet writers on the *Pèlerinage* except Professor Webster have been content to believe that all this was inspired chiefly by travelers' tales of the marvelous but still actual riches of the imperial city. Both Paris and M. Coulet¹ were persuaded that the descriptions of the two cities, Jerusalem and Constantinople, are fundamentally realistic. M. Coulet wrote (p. 283):

A l'exception de quelques détails, comme le fauteuil d'or et la charrue d'or du roi Hugon, qui sont de l'invention de l'auteur, tous les traits, dont il peint le palais de Byzance, sont empruntés à la réalité. Ils ne sont que cette réalité à peine transformée ... par l'imagination naïve de ceux qui en avaient contemplé les merveilles.

He is surprised that the poet did not give more details.

Il n'en a retenu que ce qui concernait le seul palais de Constantinople. Au lieu qu'il donnera sur la topographie de Jérusalem des indications relativement nombreuses et précises, il nous présente de la capitale grecque, comme une vue d'ensemble. ... C'est une ville d'Orient, c'est la capitale, où se trouve le palais des empereurs grecs, ces deux traits suffisent au tableau qu'il veut présenter à son public [p. 284].

It is evident that M. Coulet's view is open to question. Within short compass the poet has given us not few but many specific details. That they do not accord with historic fact, as Professor Webster perceived, does not lessen their pertinence. It is no general view but a brilliant, comparatively detailed picture that is offered of this Constantinople behind its shining bridges, with its gardens of enchantment, its hosts of richly clad youths and maidens. It is a land of youth, a land of summer, though these descriptive phrases are not specifically used; it is a land of impossible wealth and of no theft, a land ruled by a king whom surely no traveler ever saw. M. Coulet should not have argued that the poet was controlled by tradition in making Charlemagne go to a real Constantinople, that this episode was central and

¹ Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-29; Coulet, pp. 280-83.

necessary to his whole story, and then maintained that Hugo the Marvelous was purely an invention of the poet. The king was neither more nor less "invented" than was his realm.¹

Had not some of the descriptive details corresponded to possible facts, had not the name Constantinople been given to this city, it is doubtful if its true nature would so long have remained unrecognized. Yet it has long been known that Constantinople, Byzantium, Greece, are names that serve, notably in Celticized story, for the Otherworld. Professor Webster (p. 356) remarked that the undisguised fairy heroine of *Partonopeus de Blois* lives in Besance, and that medieval Irish stories frequently place the Otherworld in Greece. We remember that in the *Mabinogion* Peredur's fairy love is an empress of Cristinobyl the Great.² In various Welsh triads Constantinople is called Gwlad yr Haf,³ the 'Summer Country,' a characteristic name for the Celtic Otherworld. Finally, we may note the frankly fabulous description of the city's king. His golden plow, his incredible magnificence, place him certainly with those gods and culture heroes whose legends explain the introduction of agriculture rather than with authentic Greek emperors of history.

The recognition that king, city, and land are equally unreal justifies the expectation that Hugo's palace is of the same nature. Fortunately the details given by the poet are so numerous and precise that they can leave no doubt as to the essentially Otherworld character of this remarkable conception.

¹ See especially A. H. Krapp, "The Ploughman King," *Revue hispanique*, XLVI, 516-46.

² *Mabinogion* (trans. Lady Guest), p. 278; *ibid.* (ed. Loth), II, 100. See also *White Book Mabinogion* (ed. Evans), col. 162, l. 12. A fanciful explanation of the name Constantinople is given in the thirteenth-century story, *Li Contes dou Roi Constant l'Empereur*: "Et si fu puls la cites apielee Constantinoble, pour son pere Constant, ki devant avoit apielee Bisanche."

³ Quoted from the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801) by Loth, *Mabinogion*, II, 313-14. Though these triads are open to question as in part the possible fabrication of Iolo Morganwg, it is still significant that the term is used in association with Hu Gadarn, for though this legendary plowing-hero of the Cymry may have been translated, as his name certainly was, straight out of the *Pèlerinage* by both Iolo Morganwg and his predecessors, still they could not have taken this special phrase from the same source since the French text offers no suggestion for it. In other words, "Summer Land, the place where Constantinople is now," seems to offer a genuine bit of Welsh tradition. Mr. G. J. Williams of the University of College South Wales, hopes shortly to publish an article on Hu Gadarn in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*. Professor Cross notes that the Triads also identify Gwlad yr Haf with Taprobane (*Deffrobani*). Cf. Loth, *op. cit.*, II, 313.

THE REVOLVING PALACE

L'emperere descent defore le ... marbre blanc.
 Cez degrez de la sale vint al palais errant,
 Set milie chevaliers i troverent seanz,
 A peliçons ermines, bialz escharimanz;
 As eschies et as tables se vont esbaneiant. ...
 Charles vit le palais et la richeee grant;
 A or fin sont les tables, les chaieres, li banc.
 Li palais fut d'azur listez et avenanz
 Par molt chieres peintures a bestes et serpenz,
 A totes creatures et a oisels volanz.
 Li palais fut voltiz et desore cloanz,
 Et fut faiz par compas et serez noblement;
 L'estache del miliu neielee d'argent.
 Cent colombes i at tot de marbre en estant;
 Chascune est a fin or neielee devant...
 De cuivre et de metal tresjetet douz enfanz.
 Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
 Se galerne ist de mer, bise ne altre venz
 Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
 Il le font torneier et menuit et sovent
 Come roe de char qui a terre descent.
 Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
 Com tabors o toneires o grant cloche qui pent;
 Li uns esguardet l'autre ensement en riant
 Que ço vos fust viaire que tuit fussent vivant [vss. 334 ff.].

Charles expresses amazement at this palace, which surpasses those of Alexander, Constantine, or Crescentius. A wind rises

Briuant vint al palais, d'une part l'acoillit,
 Si l'at fait esmoveir et soëf et serit;
 Altresil fait torner com arbre de molin [vss. 370 ff.].

The images make music;

Ço'st avis, qui l'escotet, qu'il seit en paraïs,
 La ou li angele chantent et soëf et serit.
 Molt fut granz li orages, la neis et li gresilz,
 Et li venz durs et forz, qui tant bruit et fremist.
 Mais les fenestres sont a cristal molt gentil,
 Tailliees et confites a brasme oltremarin.
 Laenz fait tant requeit et soëf et serit
 Come en mai en estet quant solelz esclarist.
 Molt fut gries li orages et hisdos et costis.
 Charles vit le palais torneier et fremir [vss. 376 ff.];

Charles and the peers, unable to keep their feet, lie on the floor lamenting. At vesper time the storm ceases, the Frenchmen are escorted to a magnificent banquet at which they feast overmuch. When it is time to rest,

Li reis Hugue li Forz Charlemaigne apelat
Lui et les doze pers, sis trait a une part;
Le rei tint par la main, en sa chambrel menat,
Voltice, peinte a flors, a pieres de cristal.
Une escarboncle i luist et cler reflambeiat,
Confite en une estache del tens rei Golias.
Doze liz i at bons de cuivre et de metal,
Oreilliers de velos et lincoels de cendal;
Al menor ont a traire vint beef et quatre char.
Li trezimes en mi est tailliez a compas
Li pecol sont d'argent et l'esponde d'esmail.
Li covertors fut bons, que Maseuz ovrat,
Une fee molt gente qui le rei le dunat [vss. 418 ff.];

Before discussing this picturesque passage it is well to quote also certain additional details, especially with regard to the palace, which are found in the Welsh version of the *Pèlerinage* in the Red Book of Hergest¹ and which illustrate admirably certain concepts of the Celtic translator.

Sculptured in the floor appeared the likeness of all the animals, both wild and tame. In the entrance at its lower end, that is below the entrance, there was sculptured the likeness of the sea and every kind of piscine creature bred in the sea. In the sides of the hall was the likeness of the sky and every bird that flew in it just as though it were the air. The top of the hall had the form and aspect of the firmament with the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations arranged in the firmament so that they shone in the top of the hall, according to various seasons. There was a circle in the hall with a column of huge size fashioned like a pillar in the centre, with a profuse and strong covering of gold about it which was adorned with sculpturing of exceeding great ingenuity. Around it there were a hundred pillars of becoming and fair marble, as far in measurement from the central pillar as the large circle of the sides bore from the circle of the hundred pillars.—Whilst Charlemagne and his host were admiring the workmanship of the hall, behold there came from the sea sculptured at the lower end of the hall a sudden wind on the shaft of a millwheel, which turned swiftly in the hall on the one pillar as the mill turned on the pivot. Then the images began to blow their horns.

¹ *Ystoria Charles*, from the Red Book of Hergest (trans. by Rhŷs), pp. 26-27, in *Sechs Bearbeitungen des altfrz. Gedichts von Karls der Grossen Reise* (ed. Koschwitz; Heilbronn, 1879).

In connection with this description we should here recall Professor Howard Patch's study of "Mediaeval Descriptions of the Otherworld" (*PMLA*, Vol. XXXIII [1918]). "The Otherworld realm," he observes, "is usually quite easy to identify. Its situation is various; on a mountain, perhaps, or on an island. There is a splendid castle usually guarded by armed figures; and a garden, with a beautiful fountain or fair running streams, and trees and remarkable birds. The land is hard to enter, and sometimes difficult to leave." Of special interest in the present case are his references, too numerous, with few exceptions, to call for further illustration, on such details as these: the height (pp. 606 ff.) on which the Otherworld abode is situated; the brilliant walls of gold, crystal (p. 610); the enchanting garden (pp. 619 ff.), the Otherworld river and bridge (pp. 627, 635); the central column or pillar (p. 626) which appears in several Otherworld descriptions; the revolving castle itself (p. 616, n. 54). The garden, the river, the bridge, are so slightly mentioned in the *Pèlerinage* that they afford no real evidence; it is the round whirling castle with its incredible magnificence that must be recognized not only as an Otherworld but as a Celtic Otherworld abode, if the clues already noted are to be confirmed.

Though the idea of a whirling round house is by no means exclusively Celtic,¹ it is important to note that round houses were a fact in primitive Celtic architecture² and that revolving houses appear frequently even in modern Celtic folk lore.³ Whatever be the origin of the idea of the whirling house, it is certain that Hugo's palace, revolving till vesper time and turning like a mill-wheel, is extraordinarily like the circular fort over which every night, according to the *Fled Bricrend*,⁴ Curoi chanted a spell so that it (the house) was "as

¹ Sypherd, *House of Fame*, pp. 144-50, notes the whirling round palace of Prester John, and the revolving houses in Russian folk tales; in these the castles are sometimes said to stand on hen's legs, sometimes on a single column of silver.

² Nitze, "The Graft Castle," *Studies in Honor of Marshall Elliott*, I, 33; Brown, "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII, 197; and Macalister's article referred to below, p. 341, n. 1.

³ Sypherd, *op. cit.*, refers to the following instances: in *Saudan Og and Young Conal* (Curtin, *Hero Tales*, pp. 86-87) the revolving castle of the High King of the World is on an island; in *Cold Feet and Queen of Lonesome Island* the Queen's castle is always whirling (*ibid.*, p. 250); in *McCool, Faolan, and the Mountain*, the giant's whirling castle stands on one leg (*ibid.*, p. 507); in *Cuculín* (Curtin, *Myths of Ireland*, p. 322) the Queen of the Wilderness lives in a tower which turns on wheels; in the *Queen of the Speckled Dagger* (Herrig, *Archiv* [1899], pp. 103, 154) an iron tower turns.

⁴ "Irish Texts Soc." II, 103. Nitze (*op. cit.*, p. 26 n.) cites as the chief Irish parallels the fiery revolving rampart in the *Voyage of Maelduin* (*Rev. celt.*, X, 81), and possibly Caer Pedryvan (Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 264; "four its revolutions").

swift as a millstone." This very image recurs in a modern Irish variant of the old Curoi story, where it is said that the castle of the Naked-Hung-up-Man¹ whirls around like a millstone continuously, and no one can enter but himself, for the castle is enchanted. There are also certain Arthurian instances² in which the turning castle has something of the vastness and splendor associated with Hugo's palace, but since these details can also be paralleled individually in non-Celtic tradition,³ it seems best to turn to a romance, late in date but indubitably of the same origin though independent of the *Pelerinage*, which offers an absolute parallel, not to one or two, but to practically all the peculiar features of Hugo's palace. For this there can be no explanation but that the *Pelerinage* and the romance in question, *Arthur of Little Britain*,⁴ had a common source in some form of Celtic tradition.

Chapter xlivi, pages 135 ff.: Arthur comes to a dreadful river, passes along a path between two mountains, crosses a narrow bridge, and so comes to the Porte Noyre. At the bridge he finds twelve knights on horseback and at the gate twelve more on foot. After a great fight he wins his way into the palace (p. 139).

There he found the most fayre house . . . sette all aboute with ymages of fyne golde and the wyndowes . . . were all of fyne ambre. . . . He entered in to a chambre the moste rychest that ever was seen; for syth God first made mankynde, there was no maner of hystorie nor bataile, but in that chambre it was portrayed with golde and asure . . . ; there was portrayed how God dyde create the sonne and the mone, and in the rofe were all the VII planettes wrought with fyne golde and sylver, and all the sytuacions of the heuvens, wherein were pyght many carbuncles and other precyous stones the whiche dyde cast grete clerenes bothe by daye and by nyght. Also there were dyuerse beddes wonderfull ryche, but specyally one, the whiche stode in the myddes of the chambre. . . .

¹ Noted by Sypherd from *Blaiman, Son of Apple* (Curtin, *Hero Tales*, p. 397); R. S. Loomis (*Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* [New York, 1927], p. 21) observes that the Naked-Hung-up-Man takes the place of Curoi the enchanter.

² Cf. Perlesvaus, *Potvin*, I, 195; *High History* (Everyman ed.), p. 206; *Diu Crône*, vss. 12945-66; *Mule sans Frein*, vss. 440-53; *Wigalois*, vss. 6714 ff.; *Arthur of Little Britain*, as cited below.

³ For instance, in the imaginative palaces of classical literature (cf. Ovid's account of the Palace of the Sun [*Metamorphoses* iii]), some of which are listed by Neilson, *Origines of the Court of Love*, pp. ii, 23, 143, and by Sypherd, pp. 135-36. Of special interest is the round turning palace of Prester John (Sypherd, pp. 144-45).

⁴ Translated by Lord Berners from an unpublished French text of the fourteenth century, and reprinted by Utterston (London, 1814). For some discussion of archaic elements in this romance see R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-75.

A bed of marvelous richness is here described. "At the head of thys bedde there stode an ymage of golde, and had in hys lyfte hande a bow of yvrey, and in hys right hande an arowe of fyne sylver: . . . there were lettres that sayd thus: Whan thys image shoteth, than all this palais shall tourne like a whele." Arthur presently sees (p. 140) "in everye corner of the chambre a gret ymage of fyne golde standynge, eche of theym holdynge in theyr hands a great horne of sylver." Three lions and a giant are slain by Arthur as one after the other the images blow their horns. A great storm comes, wind and darkness. As the palace begins to turn, Arthur clutches the central golden image, and is later found on the perilous bed, which he had previously seen pierced by a burning spear, when his friends come to praise him for achieving the great adventure.

Although one is tempted at first reading simply to consider all this a late composite from French romance,¹ the reflection must come sooner or later that only direct imitation of the *Pèlerinage*, or else a common source, could account for the peculiar combination of features in the two romances. Since the narrative in *Arthur* is so utterly unlike that of the *Pèlerinage*, since nowhere else in *Arthur* does there occur any suggestion of imitation of the *Pèlerinage*, the first possibility is excluded. The second is the only reasonable explanation for the recurrence in the two romances of a description involving a round turning castle beyond a river, a many-windowed, azure-colored hall lighted by one or more carbuncles and painted with sun, moon, and stars;² a hall with metal images that blow horns; a hall shaken by a sudden dreadful storm of wind; a hall with one great central pillar and beside it a bed of surpassing magnificence. Chance never brought together such a series of details as these. The only notable descriptive detail that appears in the *Pèlerinage* but is not found in *Arthur of Little Britain* is the circle of twelve beds, and to this we will turn in a moment as the most conclusive piece of evidence for

¹ For examples of the "perilous bed," see Armstrong, *Le Chevalier à l'épée*, pp. 59 ff.

² It is the Welsh version of the *Pèlerinage* which speaks specifically of the sun and moon, etc. In the *Pèlerinage*, not Hugo's palace at Constantinople but the church at Jerusalem is said (vss. 126-27) to be decorated with "les cors de la lune et les festes anvels, . . . les bestes par terre et les peissous par mer." This surprising type of decoration for a Christian church can be accounted for, I think, as an anticipatory borrowing from that Otherworld story which the author utilized for the Constantinople episode. Such decoration is a traditional feature in Ovid's Palace of the Sun, and in the Welsh *Ystoria Charles*, in *Arthur of Little Britain*, in *Titulæ* (ed. Piper, *Höfisches Epik*, I, 465), and elsewhere.

the Celtic origin of this passage. But meanwhile we must admit that the Magic House as described in the *Pèlerinage*, whatever the ultimate origin of the ideas involved, must, before the twelfth century, have become a part of what we can only call Celtic tradition. In the French text, in the amplified Welsh version, the series of details is definite, peculiar, consistent. The same series, recurring in *Arthur of Little Britain*, must derive from the same source.

THE LUMINOUS CARBUNCLE

The wonderful carbuncle which so lighted the bedroom of Charlemagne and his peers that it shone "Come en mai en estet quant solez esclarcest" (vs. 443), though it might be dismissed as merely one of those *pierres merveilleuses* (usually carbuncles)¹ which appear so frequently in romance, deserves a special word. Belief in the luminosity of the carbuncle may be traced as late as 1568,² and comparisons likening its light to that of the sun are commonplaces of medieval diction; the carbuncle among jewels, like gold among metals, was even sometimes ascribed to the sun as the very Jewel of Light.³ But it is surely important to notice that although these ideas occur elsewhere, they are also found continuously in Celtic tradition and the literature influenced by it.⁴ In Brieriu's palatial residence King Conchobar's

¹ Cf. J. Dickman, *Le Rôle du Surnaturel dans les Chansons de geste* (Paris, 1926), pp. 181-82; Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* (1924), Index, s.v. "Jewels," "Magic." Of interest are the following observations on the carbuncle from a thirteenth-century prose "Lapidary" (trans. M. Shackford), *Legends and Satires of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1913), p. 115: "The carbuncle is red . . . it is the lord of stones. By day and by night it illuminates all. . . . Saint John did not find the carbuncle among the foundations of the celestial kingdom of Jerusalem, for all who desire to behold the carbuncle and the clearness of the true sun must turn to the true light of Jesus Christ."

² F. Kunz (*The Magic of Jewels* [1915], p. 378) notes a story told by Benvenuto Cellini (1568) of a peasant who found a carbuncle glowing among the roots of his vines. On p. 279 Kunz quotes from a ninth-century Arab historian concerning the discovery in the great pyramid of the body of Cheops on whose head was found a carbuncle "the size of an egg, brilliant as the sun."

³ Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages* (1922), p. 93. The association of the carbuncle with the sun and of the sun with Christ gives peculiar interest to such passages as that quoted in n. 1 on this page from the "Lapidary" and as that in the Confession of St. Patrick: "The sun which we see . . . will never reign . . . all who adore it will meet with the punishment of the wicked. We, however, believe and worship the true Sun Christ" (quoted by R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

⁴ Many ancient Celtic descriptions of the Otherworld emphasize the resplendently glittering character of the fairy jewels, even when they do not refer specifically to the carbuncle. In the metrical *Dinnshenchas*, composed probably during the ninth century, the woman Allech is abducted to a beautiful house adorned with gold and gems of crystal; "alike were day and night in the midst of it" (R.I.A., "Todd Lect. Series," VII, 46 f.). In the *Tain Bó Fraich*, which dates from the same period, the supernatural hero's fairy gems are so bright that Queen Medb plays chess for three days continuously without noticing when night arrives (R.C., XXIV, 132). In the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* fairy

couch, surrounded by those of the twelve heroes of Ulster, "was set with carbuncles (*carrmocail*) and other precious stones which shone—making night like unto day."¹ Conchobar's couch is also described as surrounded by the twelve chariot-chiefs of Ulster and decorated with carbuncles (*carrmocail*) in one version of the *Tochmarc Emire*.²

Of particular interest in this connection is *le lit merveilleux* described in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 7666 ff.):

A chascun des quepouz del lit
Ot un escharbocle fermé
Qui gitoient molt grant clarté.

Wolfram tells us in *Parzival* ([ed. Martin], II, 213 ff.)³ that in the sable cap of that ever mysterious figure, the Fisher King, shone a carbuncle. A single shining carbuncle lights the Otherworld realm of Gayer which is described in the Middle English romance of *Reinbrun*⁴ in an episode plainly influenced by Celtic tradition. In short, the tradition concerning the marvelous, sunlike carbuncle is a constant one from the oldest Irish texts through the medieval French, German, and Middle English romances which have elements springing from Celtic sources. Indeed even in 1805 the Irish Mrs. Tighe, Keats's recently discovered inspiration, was still singing of "carbuncles that pour eternal light" (*PMLA*, XLII, 972).

ornaments furnish sufficient light for the whole house (*ibid.*, XXII, 9 ff.). See further *ibid.*, XXI, 321. Brug na Boinne, one of the most famous Otherworld palaces of Irish romance, is frequently referred to as *bresolus* ('flecked with light'), and a common name for the fairy realm is *Tir Sorcha* ('Land of Light'). See the word *bresolus* in the Glossary to *Ir. Text.*, IV, 1. The word *carmocul* was apparently used occasionally in early Irish to mean simply a 'button' or 'stud' (cf. *ibid.*, I, 3938). This note has been contributed by Professor Cross.

¹ *Ir. Text.*, I, 254, l. 16; *Fled Bricrend*, "Irish Texts Soc.," II, 3. Cf. Macalister, "Temair Breg, A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXIV (1919), 267.

² Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* (London, 1898), p. 58; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III (1901), 229; *Ir. Text.*, I, 309. Professor Cross notes that luminous precious stones and carbuncles figure prominently in the decorations of the Christian Irish Otherworld in the *Fis Adamndín* (*Ir. Text.*, I, 178; C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 31).

³ Noted by Nitze, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴ Stanza 80 (E.E.T.S. ed.). Cf. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, pp. 140-42. In this episode Reinbrun swims a dreadful river, sees a castle with crystal walls, rafters of cypress, jasper posts, a great carbuncle shining above, a tree full of singing birds, and learns that it is the abode of Gayer and a place where no one ever grows old. In the late twelfth-century French romance of *Le Bel Inconnu* there is an Otherworld castle built of crystal and roofed with silver:

Une escarboucle sus luissoit
Plus que solaus resplendissoit
Et par nuit rent si grant clarté
Com si ce fust en tens d'esté.

([Ed. C. Hippéau; Paris, 1869], vss. 1897 ff.)

THE CIRCLE OF TWELVE BEDS

The description of the twelve beds for the peers about the magnificent central bed of Charlemagne seems always to have been taken as a consequence of the traditional fact that Charlemagne had twelve peers. M. Coulet noted that the names of the peers were chosen by an author who apparently did not know the traditional Frankish legends: first, he mingled casually the peers of the Spanish war with more recently popular heroes,¹ such as Ogier and Guillaume d'Orange; second, he so profoundly modified² the traditional character of the noble peers that he made of them mirth for the bourgeoisie and perplexity for scholars. With M. Coulet's labored argument (pp. 299-364) to show that the author had in all this a serious moral purpose, this paper has nothing to do. It is enough to attempt to explain the origin of the peers in so far as the Constantinople episode of the *Pélerinage* is concerned and to let that origin speak for itself.

M. Coulet (p. 294) dismissed this subject with somewhat condescending brevity: "On le considérait jadis comme un trait révélant l'origine mythique de notre épopée, et l'on voulait retrouver dans ce groupe de douze héros entourant Charlemagne des douze signes du Zodiaque tournant autour du soleil." M. Coulet argued that the peers came late into the Carolingian epic and could not, therefore, be a primitive feature. In discussing "le compagnonage germanique" he explained (pp. 294-96) that in the beginning this was a bond uniting two warriors only, such as Roland and Oliver, then groups of four, of seven, and at last, by process of expansion, twelve. Had M. Coulet investigated the matter more thoroughly, he would have found that groups of twelve in connection with a god, a king, or a hero, are far too numerous and of too great antiquity to be dismissed in such fashion.³

¹ Coulet, p. 296: "Les douze pairs ne sont pour [l'auteur] qu'un nom, dont il veut utiliser la popularité au profit de son poème."

² Coulet, p. 299: "Le fait incontestable, c'est qu'il a profondément modifié la physionomie ordinaire et le caractère traditionnel de ces héros. Quelle que soit l'idée qui a présidé à cette transformation, il nous faut renoncer à retrouver les traits sous lesquels ils nous apparaissent dans les autres poèmes."

³ I am preparing a study of what can best perhaps be called the "Cosmic Twelve" in order to indicate how little this distinctive group belongs to any one race or time. A number of references are given by E. Böklen, *Die unglückszahl dreizehn u. ihre mythische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1913). A good list is given by G. Waitz, "Ueber die Zwölfzahl bei den Germanen," *Deutsche Verfassungsgesch.* (Kiel, 1865), I, App., 474-89. Cf. C. Petersen, *Das Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen u. Römer* (Berlin, 1870), *Samml. gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorlesungen*, p. 99. The ancient Elamites had twelve (probably territorial) gods. The Hebrews had their twelve tribes from which a Council of Twelve were chosen:

Instead of attempting to enumerate here such groups, which we might trace from Odysseus and his twelve best men who went to encounter Polyphemus (*Odyssey* ix. 195) to the German poem *König Rother*, in which we have Rother's twelve dukes, Berchter's twelve sons, Asprian's twelve giants, we may turn to the only instance, so far as we know, in which this familiar group of one plus twelve appears in conjunction with twelve beds in a circle. It is found in the *Fled Bricrend*,¹ in a passage immediately following the account of Conchobar's gorgeous bed and probably dating from the eighth century.² "Around it [the bed] were placed the twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster." So also in the *Tochmarc Emire* it is stated: "The couch of Conchobar was in the front of the house. It had pillars [?] of silver, with posts of bronze with golden lustre on their ends and carbuncles in them. . . . The twelve couches of the twelve heroes were around the couch."³

Whatever be the relation of these two passages to each other,⁴ it is evident that they are identical in idea with the *Pèlerinage*. The descriptions of primitive sleeping arrangements⁵ as they survive in traditional tales do not resemble these accounts of the couches of Conchobar and his champions. The *Triclinium aux onze lits* to which Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, IX, 12), believing that the fantastic glories of Hugo's palace were merely imaginative extensions of the actualities of the imperial palace at Constantinople, attempted to refer the arrangement of Charlemagne and his twelve does not, in number or in arrangement, suit the case at all.⁶ The two Irish passages offer the

Josh. 4:2; Num. 1:44, "the princes of Israel, being twelve men, each one for the house of his fathers." In South American mythology and ritual, groups of twelve gods, of twelve priests, like the twelve Sali of Rome, are not uncommon.

¹ "Irish Texts Soc." II, 5.

² Cf. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- u. Königsage* (Halle, 1921), p. 449.

³ LU., *Facs.*, p. 121, col. 1, last two lines; *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, III (1901), 229; Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 58; *Ir. Text.*, I, 309. Nitze (p. 34) and Webster (p. 351) mentioned but did not discuss the twelve. The latter simply observed (p. 351, n. 5): "The possibility that the number twelve was a primitive feature must be admitted, for a hero with a band of twelve is not uncommon in ancient French and German romances (cf. Rajna, *Le Origini del l'Epopea francese*, pp. 393, 415 ff.). Conchobar in the *Wooing of Emer* has twelve principal chariot chiefs whose beds are about his as those of the peers about Charlemagne." The interest aroused by this brief comment of Mr. Webster's was the beginning of the present piece of research.

⁴ For a discussion of the matter, Professor Cross refers me to *Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.*, VIII (1912), 498 ff. Cf. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 381 f.

⁵ Cf. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 213-18.

⁶ See Webster, pp. 365-66.

only absolute prototype for the peers' twelve couches around that of Charlemagne. If all the other clues which we have been tracing, clues which connect Hugo's palace with the Celtic Otherworld, were disregarded, this single unmistakable parallel would remain and call for explanation.

An objection might be raised by those who find in the Christian group of Christ and the Twelve Apostles a sufficient explanation for every other similar group, whether found in ostensibly pagan sources or not. It might, for example, be claimed that Christian scribes interpolated their own favorite group number, and it has in consequence no non-Christian significance. So, on this basis, perhaps would be explained Conchobar's twelve, and so, somewhat more legitimately, would be explained Charlemagne's twelve. This group, so Frankish tradition¹ assures us, was actually created in remembrance of the Twelve Apostles, and in the Jerusalem episode we are told that Charlemagne and his peers, coming to the cathedral church, found there the altar at which Christ and the Apostles had chanted the Mass.² Their twelve seats were still there, and in a locked inclosure was the thirteenth. In this Charlemagne sat down where no man had ever sat before nor will again. His peers sat in the twelve seats. The twelve beds in a circle in Constantinople would then be considered simply an imitation, so to speak, of the twelve chairs in Jerusalem. Let us consider this last matter first.

Even so patriotic a student of the *Pèlerinage* as M. Coulet has recognized that the Jerusalem episode, though it provides ostensibly, in Charlemagne's acquisition of relics, the *raison d'être* of the poem, is in the nature of an interruption to the true story. In the very first episode of the poem Charlemagne was inspired by his wife's boast of a rival to his grandeur to go to seek that rival. It is essentially the same situation, as Professor Webster pointed out (pp. 341, 347), that

¹ Gautier (*Chanson de Roland*, II, 73-75) set forth his reasons for not believing Paris' assertion that the idea of the Twelve Peers was not a primitive feature in French poetry. However that may be, they certainly appear in the earliest extant *chansons de geste*. Cf. the *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Jenkins, vs. 793, note.

² Paris (*Rom.*, IX, 21-22) discusses the poet's confusion of the Church of the Holy Paternoster on the Mount of Olives, a place from which he borrowed the idea of "l'autel de sainte Paternostre," with the church of Holy Sion on Mount Sion. This was supposedly the site of the house where Christ partook of the Last Supper. A table was long exhibited there, and a painting, or possibly a mosaic, represented the scene. Pilgrim reports of these things may well have inspired the poet's story of the chairs. Cf. Titus Tobler, *Descriptiones terrarum sanctarum* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 103, 136, 198, 222.

we find in such Arthurian legends as *Diw Crône* and the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall*. In these the narrative pattern is unmistakable; the reproving Wife's Boast is followed by the Husband's Quest and the Encounter with his Rival. The Constantinople episode is therefore an original part of the story; the Jerusalem episode an added, a secondary feature. If this be so, if, in addition, it can be shown that Charlemagne's heroes, in number, in character, even in the arrangement of their beds, have prototypes in absolutely non-Christian tradition, it will become apparent that in the Constantinople episode the story-teller was duplicating nothing in the Jerusalem episode. He was following a story of an Otherworld journey in which were already integrated the Wife's Boast, the Husband's Quest, a King with Twelve Champions, and a palace of incredible splendor in which the King's couch or throne was surrounded by those of Twelve Champions whose special character it was to boast tremendously and to perform tremendous feats of valor.

THE CELTIC TWELVE

It is evident that the first crux of this matter is the nature of Conchobar's Twelve. Were they introduced by Christian scribes along with the information that Conchobar was born and died at the same hour as Christ?¹ Fortunately at this point we can turn to unimpeachable evidence offered by Christian Irish writers as to the *pagan* Irish cult of the Twelve, a worship which these Christian writers regarded with horror and detestation.

The evidence in question comes from two descriptions concerning the destruction by St. Patrick of the terrible idol-god, Cromm Cruaich. The first is from the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*:

Thereafter Patrick went over the water to Mag Slecht, a place in which was the chief idol of Ireland, namely Crom Cruaich, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass about him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water named Guth-ard (he uplifted his voice) and when he drew nigh to the idol he raised up his hand to put Jesu's staff upon it, and reached it not, but . . . its right side, for to the south was its face, namely to Tara.²

¹ Kuno Meyer, *Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Dublin, 1906), pp. 9, 17; *Rev. Celt.*, VI, 180.

² "Rolls Series," I, 93.

The second is from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth stanzas of the Rennes *Dinnshenchas*:

Stone idols old
Ranked round Cromm Cruach, four times three,
They were of stone but he of gold,
The hosts deceiving bitterly.

From Eremon
The gracious founder of our race,
Till Patrick came, they served a stone,
And worshipped it within that place.

With heavy maul
He smashed the paltry gods each one,
With valorous blows destroyed them all,
Nor left a fragment 'neath the sun.¹

Stripped of all possibly adventitious detail these descriptions bring clearly before us a circle of stones dominated by another which, if archaeology knows and proves anything at all, is one of the most common monumental forms left to us by pagan Celtic antiquity. Their actual use, their specific meaning, we can in general only surmise, but about one, once existent, we have this definite statement: The stones represented the idol god, Cromm Cruaich, and twelve lesser gods. Though the historicity of the details concerning St. Patrick's smashing in person Cromm and his circle may be doubted, there can be no doubt about the circle itself. Indeed its very site has been determined through the acute study by J. P. Dalton² of the topography about Magh Sleacht and the topographical allusions in the texts cited to the place of Cromm Cruaich's worship: he has even traced some strange survivals of Cromm's cult into modern times.³ Since Mr. Dalton did not, however, concern himself specifically with

¹ R. A. S. Macalister, *Ireland in pre-Christian Times* (Dublin, 1921), p. 295; for Irish text and translation, see Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 305.

² "Cromm Cruaich of Magh Sleacht," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXVI (1922), 23-67. Dalton identifies the hill of Darraugh, still crowned by an ancient rath, as the site of Cromm's worship. The hill is in county Cavan on the way from Templeport to the little village of Ballymagauran. See also Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 36.

³ While "later legends associate Cromm with the saints and make him their friend and helper, still . . . in many quarters he remained sole hero of the Lugnasad celebrations. The day of Cromm Dubh, an alias for Cromm Cruaich, was celebrated on the last Sunday in July, called Garland Sunday. . . . Black Cromm's Sunday stood out so prominently in the national calendar that the 'Four Masters' used it as a date mark when recording a murderous attack made in 1117" (Dalton, pp. 49-56). "In Magh Sleacht itself the last Sunday in July still attracts a large gathering to St. Patrick's Well at Bollaheenan" (p. 52). See also T. J. Westropp, "The Mound of the Flana," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, V, 68-85, 73-74.

the number of stones about Cromm Cruaich, and since considerable misconception exists as to the importance of the number twelve among the ancient Celts, it seems well to assemble some evidence on this point even though the precise statements that there were twelve stones about Cromm speak convincingly for themselves.

In an authoritative article on "Numbers" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* the writer on Celtic numbers speaks of the primary importance of three and nine in the numerous triadic details of Celtic story, of seven as being in comparison of little importance; "for other numbers there is little evidence." He mentions the case of Cromm and his twelve "as an isolated case." The veteran Celtist, Joseph Loth,¹ has little to say of twelve in comparison with three, seven, nine, fifty, etc. Yet actually the importance of twelve among the Celts is witnessed by very ancient and impressive testimony. Strabo in the first century after Christ tells of the three tribes of the Galatians, a Celtic people, each tribe divided into four parts called "tetrarchies," of the great Council of the Twelve Tetrarchs and others who assembled with them.² In the *Crith Gablach*, an Irish law-code perhaps of the eighth century, it is stated: "Twelve [men] are the King's company. . . . Twelve couches (*imndai*) are in the royal house. . . . Twelve now are the retinue of a bishop. . . . The company of the Suad [or Sai, title of the class of literary men] now is twelve men."³ The influence of the importance of this number, whatever it implied, is to be traced in the extant plans and descriptions of the royal palaces at Tara and at Emain Macha. In them we have twelve couches, twelve windows, twelve doors,⁴ which have obvious connection with the twelve champions of the king. From these indications it would seem clear that among the ancient Celts the number twelve was in

¹ "L'Année celtique d'après les textes irlandais," *Rev. celt.*, XXV (1904), 157. He grants, however (p. 146), "que ce chiffre ait eu une réelle valeur mythique, à un certain moment, chez les Celtes."

² *Geography*, XII, 5 (trans. Hamilton and Falconer [1856], II, 320).

³ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, "Rolls Series," IV, 329, 337, 339.

⁴ The doors are sometimes said to be "twelve or fourteen" but only twelve appear on the extant plans. Cf. Macalister's discussion of this and other architectural points in his "Temair Breg, A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara," *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXIV (1919), 231-399, esp. p. 264. The descriptions of the glories of Tara in the *Metrical Dinnseanchas* (Gwynn, "Todd Lecture Series," *Roy. Irish Acad.*, 1903) and in a prose tract of the same subject (Gwynn, p. 71, n. 103) were both undoubtedly influenced in numerical matters by the account of Solomon's Temple (I Kings, chaps. 6, 7). The Irish accounts, however, borrowed nothing from the description of the great "sea" erected by Solomon in the Temple court. It was mounted on twelve brazen oxen, three of which looked toward each of the four quarters.

law, in society, in royal household arrangements, a number of importance. Of special importance also must have been the ancient Irish cult of the Twelve Gods which is attested by the two texts describing the worship of Cromm Cruaich himself.

The reason for all this was doubtless precisely the same reason that has from time to time, among the most widely separated peoples, and in the most divergent periods of time, produced the cult of the one great and twelve lesser gods, or influenced the current idea of the one great and twelve lesser heroes, judges, relatives, etc. The evidence for the Cosmic Twelve cannot, however, be touched on in this paper, which has to do only with the Celtic development of what can almost be called a world-wide phenomenon. That the Celtic cult of the one god encircled by twelve others influenced the concept of the king encircled by his twelve heroes no one can doubt, especially as Conchobar is notably in Irish tradition either a euhemerized deity or a deified king. Indeed a gloss in the oldest version of the *Fled Bricrend* calls Conchobar *dia talmaide*, or 'terrestrial god [of the Ultonians].'¹

The twelve champions about Conchobar are not specifically named, in conjunction with the number, in the old texts, but their pre-eminence is asserted, and it can hardly be doubted that such a statement as the following, though it is found in an eighteenth-century version of the *Training of Cuchulainn* (*Revue celt.*, XXIX, 147), represents an ancient tradition:

Authors and sages recount that no king or great lord on the Continent had at that time heroes . . . as brave . . . as the band that was then in Ulster called the Champions of the Red Branch, such as Conall the Victorious, and Fergus son of Ross Ruad, and with their children, Loeguire the Triumphant, Cormac Conloinges, son of Conchobar, and those eight others who came with Cuchulainn into Ireland.

Though this is the most famous group of twelve heroes known to Irish story, the same group number is given with reference to "that famous warrior, Lugaid Noes, son of Alamacc, king of Munster, who went from the west and twelve underkings of Munster with him, to woo the twelve daughters of Corpre Niafer" (*Tochmarc Emire*, *Revue celt.*, XI, 449). The same group survives even in modern Irish folk tale, as in this Galway story of *The Knight of the Tricks*, recorded by Douglas Hyde:

¹ LU., *Facs.*, p. 101, col. 2, l. 8. Cf. "Irish Texts Soc." II, 16, where, Professor Cross notes, the phrase is transcribed incorrectly. See further Hull, *Cuch Saga*, p. lvi.

"Supper was got ready for them, as good as he had it, and when the supper was eaten, the Knight asked these twelve (who were with him) to rise up and perform a piece of exercise for this man, showing the deeds they had, and this man had never seen any feat like them."¹ Or again (p. 23): "When they were after their supper, the Knight of the Tricks told the twelve to rise up and perform feats for the gentleman who was giving them their supper."

The evidence that has been here assembled surely justifies us in henceforth referring to the Celtic Twelve, which begin, so far as we know, with the god Cromm and his twelve. That Conchobar's twelve, like Charlemagne's, lie in a carbuncle-lighted room, that their beds encircle one central bed more magnificent than all, is a correspondence which no one can attribute to chance. It can be accounted for only as a genuine survival of Celtic tradition in French romance.² Lineally, then, the Twelve Peers of the Constantinople episode are the "wild Irish," the madly heroic champions of Conchobar, and in this lies the explanation for their variation from the Twelve Peers of Frankish tradition. Perhaps it was the very identity of the number that led to the equation and brought about the mingling of two entirely different lines of tradition.

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THE GABS

There exists still another body of evidence, not hitherto adequately discussed, which points to the Celtic origin of the Constantinople episode in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*.³ It will be recalled that in the

¹ *Five Irish Stories* (Dublin), pp. 22 ff. In this tale the Knight of the Tricks and his twelve champions seek lodging from a gentleman whose son is coveted by the Knight. For three years the Knight has this son in training, and he becomes a master-champion able to hold his own against the twelve. In the course of the story he becomes transformed into a pigeon, a stallion over which a magic halter gives control, an eel, a lark, a grain of oats, a fox. He is pursued by the twelve, but when they are in the guise of turkey-cocks, he as a fox destroys them all, including his special enemy, the Knight of the Tricks.

² In a forthcoming article I hope to establish certain connections between the Celtic Twelve and Arthurian traditions.

³ In 1884 Thurneysen (*Keltoromanisches*, pp. 18 ff.) and later Webster (*op. cit.*) suggested that the gabs of Charlemagne's peers may have originated in the *cless*, or feats ascribed to ancient Irish warriors, but neither of these scholars presented the evidence in detail. Anybody who imagines that the habit of boasting is peculiarly characteristic of early Germanic poetry should read the epic and romantic literature of Ireland. The central epic begins with the boast of the Connacht ambassadors that they will take the Bull of Cualnge by force. See further *Gummerso Oldest English Epic*, p. 60, n. 2.

French poem Charlemagne's peers, before retiring in the chamber of the carbuncle, make various boasts. Oliver swears that he will sleep with Hugo's daughter, and the others make even more extravagant *gabs*. Archbishop Turpin's boast, for example, runs as follows:

Treis des meilleurs destriers que en la ciet sont,
Pregnet li reis demain si'n facet faire un cors
La defors en cel plain. Quant mielz s'eslaisseront,
Jo i vendrai sor destre corant par tel vigor,
Que me serrai al tierz et si larruai les dons;
Et tendrai quatre pommes molt grosses en mon poin
Sis irai estruant et jetant contremont
Et larruai les destriers aler a lor bandon:
Se pome m'en eschaperet ne autre en chiet del poing,
Charlemaignes, mis sire, me crieret les oilz del front" [vss. 495 ff.]

The juggling feat with apples described here reminded Thurneysen of Cuchulainn's famous *ubullcless*, or 'apple-feat,' referred to in the ancient epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*¹ and described in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, a manuscript compiled before the year 1106 out of older materials:

Neun Schwerter in seiner Hand und neun silberne Schilde und neun Aepfel von Gold. Er wirft jedes von ihnen in die Höhe, und keines von ihnen fällt auf den Boden, und nie war mehr als eins von ihnen auf seiner Hand, und gleich dem Tanzen von Bienen an einem schönen Tage jedes von ihnen beim andern vorbei in die Höhe.²

Such feats formed part of the accomplishments of the ancient Irish *clessomnagh*, or 'juggler,'³ as is illustrated in the following passage from the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, a saga which long antedates the twelfth century:

Nine swords in his [the juggler's] hand, and nine silver shields, and nine apples of gold. He throws each of them upwards, and none of them falls on the ground, and there was only one of them on his palm; each of them rising and falling past another is just like the movement to and fro of bees in a day of beauty.⁴

¹ *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 279.

² *Ibid.*, p. 278, n. 2. Cuchulainn's skill in throwing apples is also illustrated on p. 288 of the same volume. See also Royal Irish Academy, *Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 33.

³ Cf. Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, II, 486.

⁴ *R.C.*, XXII (1901), 286. In the *Mesca Ulad* a man throws two swords alternately into the air and catches them before they reach the earth. See William M. Hennessy's trans., Royal Irish Academy, *Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 29. Cf. *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 278, n. 3. Compare also the feat with the sword in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (*ibid.*, p. 786) and Cuchulainn's "needle-feat" in the *Fled Bricrend* (*ibid.*, Vol. I, chap. lxv, pp. 286 f.).

Garin's gab also deserves attention. He boasts that he will throw a spear at two pennies placed on a tower half a league distant so dextrously as to knock off one without touching the other. "Puis," he adds,

... serai si legiers et isnels et qates,
Que m'en vendrai corant parmi l'uis de la sale
Et reprendrai l'espriet, ainz qu'a terre s'abaisset [vss. 613 ff.].

The particular point to be emphasized with regard to this feat is the fact that the performer throws an object, and then runs so swiftly that he catches it before it reaches the ground. An instructive parallel is found in the *Macgnimrada Conculaind* ('Youthful Exploits of Cuchulainn'), incorporated in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*.¹ While on his way to Emain, the capital of Ulster, the hero "kept throwing his staff before him, so that he caught it by the point before it fell to the ground."² In the *Coir Anmann*,³ an ancient Irish compilation of stories explaining the origin of personal names, we read: "Whatsoever the hosts would shoot against the tower, whether stones or weapons, would scarcely reach the ground past the king [Feradach], when he caught them in his hands and himself distributed them again to every one." In the *Táin Bó Fraich*, one of the most archaic of the longer sagas, the hero "flings his javelin the length of a spear's cast from him; before it reaches the ground, [his] . . . seven bounds in their seven chains of silver catch it."

Berengier boasts that he will jump from the highest tower upon the points of swords planted at its base. The swords will break, but

Ja ne troverez une qui m'ait en charn tochiet
Ne le cuir entamet ne en parfont plaiet [vs. 549 f.].

One of Cuchulainn's feats was performed upon spear-points.⁴ It is described in the *Tochmarc Emire*, where it is said to have been learned by Cuchulainn and his companions from Domnall of Alba. They climbed up a spear and performed feats upon its point, but their soles

¹ L. W. Faraday's trans. (Grimm Lib.), p. 18; *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, pp. 108 ff.; *R.C.*, XXVIII (1907), 242.

² Cuchulainn's marvelous swiftness is also dwelt upon in an episode in which he overtakes and captures certain wild deer (*Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 160). In the *Agallamh na Senórach* Caelte is said to have gathered together by running a couple of all wild animals in existence (*S.G.*, II, 195). A similar feat, it will be recalled, is attributed to Perceval and to the Welsh Peredur (cf. *Peredur ab Efrawc* [ed. Kuno Meyer; Leipzig, 1887], p. 1).

³ *Ir. Text.*, III, 2, p. 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284.

were not injured.¹ In the *Toruigheacht Dhiarmuda agus Grainne*² ('Pursuit of D. and G.') Dermot lays aside his weapons and his clothing except his shirt, plants his spear in the earth with the point up, and then springs into the air and lets himself down upon it without injuring himself.

Bertram brags that he will fly like a bird, with two shields for wings. Though the theme of levitation is not confined to Celtic and Old French romance,³ it is important in the present connection to observe that in the *Fled Bricrend Cuchulainn* is said to have been able to perform a "bird-feat" and that in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* he pursues a flock of birds *mar each n-én* ('like every bird'); "for it was in this fashion that Cuchulainn used to gather and prepare fish and fowl and game on the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*."⁴

Again in the *Fled Bricrend Cuchulainn* is described as fighting "above the ears of the horses and the breaths of the men,"⁵ in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* he said to be able to perform the *cor n-iach n-erredh*, 'hero's salmon-leap,' whereby he jumps over walls or rises above his enemies in battle,⁶ and in his famous combat with Ferdiad, both he and his opponent perform a series of marvelous aerial feats.⁷ That springing high into the air also formed part of Naimon's boast is clear from the various translations of the *Pélerinage*.⁸

Naimon also boasts that he will don Hugo's armor and shake it to pieces.

La me verrez escorre par force a tei vertut,
N'iert tant forz li halbers d'acier ne blanc ne brun,
Que n'en chieent les mailles ensemest com festuz [vss. 535 ff.].

¹ *R.C.*, XI, 444. In a modern version of the same saga Domnall's daughter sprang into the air and let herself down with her breast upon the point of the spear, where she remained for a long time. Cf. *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284, n. 4.

² O'Grady's ed. (Ossianic Soc.), p. 86. See further Windisch, *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 284, n. 4.

³ Cf. O'Keefe, "Irish Texts Soc." XII, xxxiv f. See further *ibid.*, I, 93, n. 1; *Battle of Magh Rath* (ed. O'Donovan), p. 334 n.

⁴ *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 280, n. 5, and p. 259.

⁵ *Ir. Text.*, I, 263, l. 22. Cf. *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 283, n. 7.

⁶ *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, p. 281, n. 6; Thurneysen, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Ir. Text.*, *Extrabd.*, pp. 536 ff.

⁸ See Koschwitz' ed., note to l. 534.

This reminds us at once of the fact that one of Cuchulainn's boyish exploits consists in brandishing arms so that they break in pieces.¹

Though Ogier's boast that he will grasp the pillar upon which Hugo's whirling palace stands, and overthrow the building would, if taken alone, hardly suggest Celtic origin, the feature acquires significance in the present connection from the fact that in the *Fled Bricrend* Cuchulainn raises one side of Brieriu's dun and lets it down with such force that the house goes seven feet into the earth, the whole inclosure shakes, and the poison-tongued Brieriu and his wife are precipitated from their balcony into the mud.²

The similarity between Irish tradition and the gabs of Charlemagne's peers described above strengthens further the hypothesis that the French poem owes something ultimately to Celtic tradition.

On the basis of parallel situations in other medieval romances Professor Webster suggested that the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* contains echoes of an Otherworld journey in which the visitors to the fairy realm were forced to undergo prodigious tests. That this version of the widespread theme of the journey to the Otherworld was Celtic might be suspected from the Middle English romance of the *Turk and Gowin*, where the hero visits the Isle of Man and is required to perform tasks reminiscent of the feats of Charlemagne's companions. The probability of a Celtic source is strengthened by an episode in the *Agallamh na Senórach*, where the combination of the *cless* with the journey to the Otherworld actually occurs in medieval Irish romance.

Ciaban, son of the king of Ulster, accompanied by the two sons of the kings of India and of Greece, crosses the sea to the Land of Promise. Here they are received in the house of Manannan mac Lir (the fairy king), where their arrival is expected.

Then there arose certain long-nosed, long-heeled, slim-ankled churls [*bachlaich*], foxy and bald and satirical, who were wont to perform feats and games in the house of Manannan. And this is the feat they did: nine osier rods in his hand and while standing upon one foot and having only one hand free he would throw them up to the rooftree of the palace and would catch them again in the same cast. They did this in order to shame any noble-born freemen who came thither from afar.

¹ *Ir. Text., Extrabd.*, pp. 132 ff.

² *Ir. Text., I*, 264 f.

Ciaban and his two companions successfully duplicate the feat performed by the buffoons, thus establishing their right to admission into the Otherworld, and win fairy women for wives.¹

In view of the evidence presented above, it appears impossible to resist the impression that the *Pelerinage Charlemagne* contains not only a reflection of certain features which are characteristic of ancient Irish heroic literature and are associated with the Celtic journey to the Otherworld, but also certain traits which originated in the pagan cults of pre-Christian Ireland.

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¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 1, p. 108. An unreliable translation is given by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 198.

REVIEWS

Girart de Roussillon and the Tristan Poem. By E. S. MURRELL. Chesterfield: Bales and Wilde, 1926. Pp. 207.

Ferdinand Lot,¹ with admirable insight and good sense, has recently settled the moot question of the origin of *Roussillon* in the well-known *chanson de geste*. The medieval traveler who went from Valenciennes to Avignon, in the south of France, he finds, passed by "Roselhon fortissimum castrum et castrum Gerardi de Fraite." Since Girart de Fraite, or Frete, originally the same as Girart de Viane, is also identical with the hero of the epic poem in question, it is clear that the *Roussillon* of the poem is derived from the castle of that name in the Isère, near Vienne. The author of the first redaction of the *Girart de Roussillon* (GI), inspired by the monastic records of Pothières and Vézelay, transferred the hero and the scene of his action to the north, in Burgundy.

Mr. Murrell's study, antedating that of Lot, does not—of course—include this fact; but it contains an otherwise thorough, critical Bibliography² and an exhaustive but succinct survey of both the *Girart* and the *Tristan* problems. That is its value, and it is not a slight one. As regard the *Girart*, Murrell restates the arguments for thinking that the extant poem (GII), written in the Limousin territory, close to Poitou, was subsequent to Wace's *Brut* in 1155; that the Latin *Vita* (L), antedating this, appeared around 1120; and, finally, that the lost original (GI) was written in North Burgundy, "about the close of the eleventh century." On the *Tristan* problem, as a whole, he is likewise sound. He agrees with Bédier, recently supported by Deister,³ that the Archetype (X) is close to 1154, and he believes that the evidence accords "the highest probability to the placing of the composition of X in the region of Poitou [p. 75]," where both the *Girart* and the *Tristan* were doubtless known.

But did the two stories influence each other? And is it possible to hold that GI gave to X the theme of the Life in the Forest, while X, in turn, transmitted to GII the love-theme of Elissent and Girart, which does so much to soften the asperity of the original epic story? Such, at least, is Murrell's

¹ *Rom.*, LII (1926), 257–95.

² I have noticed the omission, however, of two important titles: A. Hilka, "Der Tristanroman und die *Disciplina clericalis*," *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLV (1917), 38 ff.; and E. Hoepffner's articles on the *Folie-Tristan* in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXIX (1918), 267 ff. and 551 ff.

³ *Mod. Phil.*, XIX (1922), 287 ff.

ingenious hypothesis, to the support of which the main portion of his treatise is devoted.

Of the two parts of this hypothesis, the latter is the more acceptable. The extant *Girart de Roussillon* is motivated at the beginning and the end by Girart's romantic love for Elissent, who is married to Charles the Bald.¹ Here we have a parallel to Tristan's love for Isolt, married to King Mark—supported by the fact that Girart, like Tristan, weds another and then in his misery seeks the aid of his first "love" by means of an identifying ring. This motivation, not found in L, was doubtless not in GI either but was added by the author of GI. If the last-named had a "literary" source for this motif, the *Tristan*, being the closest parallel, may have been that source or, let us rather say, may have suggested the use of the motif. Guiraut de Cabreira, who is cited by Ezio Levi² "as reproaching his harper, Cabra, with not knowing how to play a *tempradura de Breton*, also reproaches him with knowing nothing of *Girart de Rossillon*." Obviously an interchange of epic and Breton material was possible at that date.

The same plausibility, however, does not obtain for Murrell's reconstruction of GI, from which he assumes that the original *Tristan* took the motif of the Life in the Forest and the scene with the hermit. To be sure, Bédier had observed:

Si l'on considère que la scène où la femme de Girart pleure à ses pieds [i.e., of the hermit in the forest], comme Iseut aux pieds d'Ogrin, peut être ancienne, et remonter à une chanson de la fin du XIe siècle, cet ermite pourrait être le prototype d'Ogrin.³

And, in his quest for verbal resemblances, Murrell finds that, while L states *vitam pauperam et austera* [translated in the Burgundian version by *aspre incognitus duxit*], the Béroul *Tristan* reads *aspre vie meinent et dure*. On the other hand, there are marked differences between the two accounts. In GI the hermit is nameless, the couple who confess to him are not "lovers" but man and wife, and their sin is not *luxure* but epic *desmesure*. The similarity is about as great as is that of either account with the famous scene, also before a hermit in a forest, where Perceval does penance for his "pride" in the *Conte del graal*.⁴ The fact is, as Miss Schoepperle has shown, that the Life in the Forest is found in the Irish *Aitheda* from which the *Tristan* derived its theme. Moreover, in the primitive atmosphere in which the story is conceived the forest is Tristan's natural habitat—unless it be the sea—and it is to be expected that he would take his love thither; whereas in GI, Girart and Berte are driven to the forest because their property and their home have been destroyed. At the time GI was written it must have happened

¹ Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 261: "Cependant il convient remarquer que, sauf en un passage (§636) certainement interpolé ou altéré, l'adversaire de Girard est appelé Charles Martel." On the further confusion with Charlemagne, see Lot, p. 271.

² *Studij Romansi*, XIV (1917), 113-46.

³ Ed. Thomas, II, 263, n. 1.

⁴ Baist text, vss. 6266 ff.

frequently that any refugee, driven from town, castle or bower, would seek the forest wild as his only means of escape. As a typical instance, compare so relatively late a story as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, § XVIII.

If, then, the Latin *Vita* lacks the reference to the hermit, basing its argument on the statement: "necessitatem fugiendi in bonam voluntatem convertit penitendi," it is just as possible to conclude that GII, having found in his original a rather commonplace flight to a forest, borrowed the episode¹ of the hermit from the same source from which he derived his love-motif; namely, from the *Tristan*. That, in any case, is a conjecture which, if acceptable, would strengthen Mr. Murrell's first point: that the *Tristan* influenced GII.

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The Old French Romance of Amadas et Ydoine; An Historical Study.

By JOHN REVELL REINHARD, PH.D. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1927.

This critical study is intended to accompany the author's edition published in the *Classiques français du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1926). Some of the material appeared in the *Romanic Review*, in 1924. The book contains eight chapters, an Appendix of illustrative material, a Bibliography, and an Index. From its arrangement, there is necessarily a considerable amount of repetition, which the author has preferred, he states, to the alternative of cross-references. The following discussion is intended to supplement what Dr. Reinhard has said.

Amadas et Ydoine is generally dated about 1220; this date Dr. Reinhard accepts. A study of such a late text requires a careful examination of a large body of works composed during the preceding century. An examination of the Bibliography will show that he has conscientiously attempted to cover this field. He has, however, overlooked some of the possible source material in *Enéas* and has omitted at least two important works which have a bearing on his subject. He makes no mention of *Guillaume de Dôle* (ca. 1200), which preceded *Amadas*, if the dates given are even approximately correct, and presents a more complete picture of society of the period. He mentions the *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras (ca. 1167) only in a note. The probable indebtedness of the author of *Amadas* to *Ille* seems to me so fundamental that I shall refer to it repeatedly.

In his discussion of the source of the heroine's name, Reinhard gives the earliest use of Ydoine as a woman's name as 1170. If the generally accepted date of *Ille et Galeron* (1167) is correct, that romance is entitled to the credit. To his conjectures about the source might be added the possibility that this

¹ It may be noted that a hint for the introduction of the hermit is given in L; I quote the Burgundian translation, § 14: "et, comme il est écrit de saint Pol, le premier ermite, il converti la nécessité de fuir en bonne volonté de penitance."

name came from the Latin *Didone* and the name of the hero might by a stretch of the imagination be connected with the Latin *Aeneades*, son of *Aeneas*.

In chapter ii, "Analogues and Sources," the author outlines the poem and discusses its twelve narrative themes. Under the first, "Love-Distraction and Love-Sickness," he says (p. 19): "One of the primary traits of the courtly romances is their delineation of the physical disorders caused in either or both of the lovers by the passion of love. *Enéas* (1160-75) and *Pyramus et Thisbé* (1150-75) contend with Chrétien's *Cligès* (ca. 1170), *Lancelot* (ca. 1172) and *Yvain* (ca. 1173) for the honor of giving us the earliest picture in Romance of the 'woeful' lover." If this is intended to be a complete list of the earliest pictures, *Eracle* (ca. 1165; the Paridès and Athanais episode) and *Ille et Galeron* (ca. 1167) are clearly entitled to be placed near the beginning of the list, but they are not mentioned.

In discussing the fifth theme—"Wedding-Night Resistance"—Reinhard notes a similarity between *Amadas* and *Cligès* in the episode of the "feigned death" and suggests a relationship. He continues (pp. 29-30): ". . . . There does not seem to be any good reason for believing that *Cligès* did not supply him with ideas for other parts of his romance. But it should be noted that he moulds that material to suit his own ideas; whereas the love of Fenice is indubitably *loyal*, that of Ydoine is *pure* as well. This pure love is the *Amadas* poet's contribution to romantic fiction." I do not think that this latter point can be sustained, for both the hero and the heroine of *Ille et Galeron* are pure. Galeron led an exemplary life, and her vow which separated her from Ille was made when she was in the pains of childbirth for her third child Ydoine, the circumstances of whose birth and rearing would tend to make her the perfect model for the pure woman of the later romance. Ille may well be denominated "the perfect hero." Against *Amadas*' Ydoine it may be said that she was not too pure to tell a falsehood to the effect that she had had three illegitimate children by three different men and had killed the children. Ydoine the virtuous, daughter of Galeron, is, then, probably an imitation and not an original contribution.

Under the seventh theme, "Divorce," Dr. Reinhard speaks of its rarity, both in the romances and in history. He alludes to the famous case of Eleanor and Louis VII and to that of Athanais and Lais in *Fracle*. He might have added other historical cases of divorce (or preferably annulment) among the noble contemporaries of Eleanor (see Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*), and in literature the cases in Marie de France's *Eliduc* and *Fresne*, and in *Ille et Galeron*.

"Abduction and Rescue" is the eighth theme. He says (p. 32), after mentioning a historical abduction which took place in 1190: "But the abduction in *Amadas*, though it may have had a model in historical fact, is of an entirely literary nature, because of its complication with the fairy knight." He then mentions a number of cases of supernatural abductions, including that in the

Atre Perilos (ca. 1200-1225) and queries about the possible relation of the latter to the Amadas. I have long thought that they were related, but it is difficult to tell which influenced the other or whether both may not come from a common source.

As additional historical models for the abduction, there were the capture of Eleanor by pirates as she was returning from the Crusade of 1147 and the two attempted abductions as she was returning to Poitou after her divorce (Richard, *op. cit.*). On the literary side, we may add the abduction of Guillia-dun in *Eliduc* and that of Ganor in *Ille et Galeron*. Any one of these might have influenced the author.

Among the examples Reinhard cites under the tenth theme, "The Squire of Low Degree," is that of Paridès in *Eracle*, but he does not mention the more striking case of Eracle himself, who is sold into slavery and by sheer worth rises to the position of adviser to the Roman emperor, then becomes emperor of Constantinople, and finally rescues the Cross from Cosdroès and restores it to Jerusalem. Nor does he mention at all the humble knight Ille, who, after deeds of bravery, marries Galeron, sister of the Duke of Brittany, then after the loss of an eye so feels his lack of worth that he deserts wife and home and after various adventures becomes Roman emperor. There is no need to seek farther for a squire of low degree as a model.

The twelfth and last theme discussed is "The Test of Worth." Reinhard concludes (p. 42): "Probably undue importance should not be attached to this element in our romance; it appears to have been a literary convention, and was apparently so used by the poet. . . ." But it probably became such from a social convention. It was so widely used that the romance would have to share freely with others the honor of being "one of the sources for the motif in later romantic fiction." The test is found in *Ille et Galeron*, but it is not exacted by either heroine; the hero applies it to himself.

The recapitulation of the chapter should, I feel sure, include an acknowledgment of the romance's possible indebtedness to *Ille et Galeron* for themes 1, 7, 8, 10, and possibly 12; to *Eliduc* for 7 and 8; to *Fresne* for 7; and to *Eracle* for 10. It would have been interesting if Reinhard had discussed a thirteenth theme—"The Wandering Heroine."

In chapter iii, Reinhard quotes Jean Bodel's couplet about the *trois matières* and comments (p. 45): "Thus did Jean Bodel d'Arras classify French literature at the close of the twelfth century. After the turn of the thirteenth century, however, a fourth type of literature made its appearance. . . . This was the *roman d'aventure*, a literary expression of the political and social phenomena of feudalism and chivalry. The new *genre* took its place beside the *trois matières* of Jean Bodel." Since a large number of the works which Reinhard classifies as *romans d'aventure* were written long before the "turn of the thirteenth century" and were doubtless known to Jean Bodel, we may well presume that he included them in his *trois matières*. The *roman d'aventure* did grow out of the *trois matières*, but it was in full flower shortly after

the middle of the twelfth century. Reinhard mentions *Erec*, *Lancelot*, *Cligès*, and *Yvain* "composed between 1150 and 1175" by Chrétien, poet of Marie de Champagne, but he omits the *Eracle* (ca. 1165) and *Ille et Galeron* (ca. 1167) composed by Gautier d'Arras for Marie, her brother-in-law, and her daughter's father-in-law. As early examples of the type, they certainly should have been mentioned.

In his discussion of chivalry and the qualities of the perfect knight, Reinhard quotes from Chrétien's poems, but he might have added many examples from *Ille*. Some of the precepts of André le Chapelain as applied to *Amadas* are discussed. Under the rule, "Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus," he quotes (p. 53) a passage from *Amadas* which includes the following lines:

En l'egarder de la pucele
Li saut au cuer une estincele
Qui de fine amor l'a espris;

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and comments: "The last three lines observe a convention of which Chretien has made much, namely, that the eyes carry love to the heart. This motif is elaborated in great detail in *Cligès*, and it is not forgotten in *Yvain* . . . , *Erec* . . . or *Lancelot* . . ." It is the pivot on which swings the whole plot of *Ille et Galeron*, and it there constitutes the most striking use of the conceit in Old French literature.

The "Romantic Conventions" he gives are all to be found in the *Ille*, and under "Literary Conventions" he should have added (p. 68) Guilliadun in *Eliduc* and Ganor in the *Ille* to the list of ladies threatened with undesired marriages. *Ille*'s dream and the vision at the beginning of *Eracle* are worthy of being noted.

In chapter iv, the author attempts to trace the magic element to its Celtic and classical sources; and in chapter v, he does the same for the symptoms of love-languishment and love-madness. In neither chapter does he give sufficient credit to Ovid for the love-pathology. And he might have added to his illustrations by quotations from the *Ille*. These two chapters seem to have been originally presented as one, for his summary on pages 121-23, beginning "Throughout this chapter . . .," recapitulates the subject matter discussed in both chapters. Chapter v is especially well documented, but the examples taken from Old French literature are mostly from thirteenth-century romances and none are from the *Ille*, which could have furnished illustrations of most of the symptoms, except love-madness.

Reinhard does not make wholly convincing his argument in chapter vi in regard to the date of the *Amadas*. From the poems referred to in the text of the romance, there seems no reason why it might not have been composed as early as 1175 to 1180, and as it is mentioned in the *Donnei des Amanz*, the dating of that poem "the end of the twelfth century" would still further limit the forward date.¹ It is regrettable that he does not give more space to es-

¹ On p. 10, he gives the date of the *Donnei* as "the late twelfth or early thirteenth century." If it is the late twelfth, the *Amadas* must belong to the twelfth also, for the reference to it is most explicit.

tablishing the facts in his discussion of the "were mortal" (p. 128). I cannot see why the king of France must have been Philippe-Auguste rather than his father Louis VII, or why the forbidden tournament may not have been that planned for Easter, 1149, or some other. And if the war "would have arisen between" the *doi haut baron* if the king had not forbidden the tournament, the implication is that since he did forbid it the war did not take place, and consequently cannot be the war which was "concluded by the battle of Bovines in 1214." Therefore all this argument falls down. All we can say definitely about the date is that the poem was probably not written before 1175 or after 1240.

In regard to proverbs (p. 136), I call attention to the fact that there are probably no Old French romances that contain as many as Gautier's two poems, *Eracle* and *Ille et Galeron*.

The "new tendency" which the author in his final summing-up (p. 176) places in the first years of the thirteenth century seems to me to belong much earlier, and if 1220 is the date of the *Amadas*, this poem cannot claim to be the first of its genre. If there was a reaction against the exotic, the *Amadas* cannot be counted as an example, for its poet is given as an Anglo-Norman, the main scene is laid in Burgundy, and an important part of the action takes place at Lucca. So the whole setting is foreign. The spirit is truly quite different from that of the Courts of Love where love was represented as incompatible with marriage, but the *Amadas* is not the first poem to express that other attitude; Gautier d'Arras had long before pointed the way. Ydoine is merely a descendant of Guildeluëe and of Galeron.

Every addition to the extremely limited number of studies in English of Old French texts is welcome, and Dr. Reinhard in bringing together the analogues and explaining the elements in this one romance has made a very real contribution.

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Some New Light on Chaucer, Lectures Delivered at the Lowell Institute.

By JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., [1926]. Pp. xiv+305.

The Chaucer Tradition. By AAGE BRUSENDORFF. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; Copenhagen: Povl Branner, [1925]. Pp. 510.

The titles of these two books suggest that here we have, first, a forward-looking and perhaps even revolutionary study, calculated to upset all of the conclusions gathered from past research; and, second, a volume that comes at the end of a long and fruitful era, that surveys that era and recapitulates its achievements. Furthermore, anyone who did not know Professor Manly might suppose that in the first book we should find a popular series of bold

conjectures, and in the second a dependable scientific method justifying itself by its exactitude. A moment's examination of the machinery in Dr. Brusendorff's volume, and the absence of it in Professor Manly's, would tend to confirm this view. Two minutes more, however, would shatter one's faith in this and the other observations. Professor Manly is so thoroughly the scholar that he can trust his instinct to save him in his freest adventure, while Dr. Brusendorff succumbs, if not to audacity, at least sometimes to his own facility in estimating the value of ancient theory. Moreover, *Some New Light on Chaucer* comes at the end of a long period in which many scholars have attempted to shed a few gleams of this particular kind; and one looks back at important work by Professors Kuhl and Knott and Tupper, and many others, and recognizes the development of a technique that occasionally reaches its triumph in Professor Manly's shrewd caution. One would like to see what he would do in this vein with the *Parlement of Foules*, the *Legende of Good Women*, and especially (if his suspicions could only be aroused) with the *Hous of Fame*. The day when it was regarded as frivolous to see in the Man of Law's Constance a gentle allusion to that other saintly lady, John of Gaunt's second wife, is clearly past. One scholar not long ago actually read sinister meaning into Chaucer's use of the St. Cecilia story.

For some time it has been known that Chaucer uses a certain amount of "local color" in his description of the Canterbury Pilgrims. Now we are to be prepared to find these figures actual portraits: "I have not a doubt," Professor Manly concludes, "that his circle of friends said to one another—as the friends of all artists do: 'He got the idea of this character from John and that from Bess, this trait from Henry and that from George.'"¹ Some other material, on Chaucer's family and education, is supplied from evidence derived by the same keen detective work. On the other hand, Dr. Brusendorff's book comes along like a whirlwind of youthful skepticism to carry off all the loose timbers in the structure of Chaucer scholarship, opening gaps to the freedom of new research. The positive value of such destruction is naturally somewhat in proportion to its justice,² but there is no harm in having accepted theories turned over and scrutinized afresh, even if the results are not always to be depended upon and others must do the work again. Much turns out to be assumption which for years has been taken as final, and one can no longer rely on old material without first looking to see what Dr. Brusendorff has done to it.

In spite of Professor Manly's disclaimer that he is giving us "merely a collection of suggestions of a more or less speculative character,"³ much of

¹ Manly, pp. 283 f. He is dealing with the subject matter, not with the artistic form, of the portraits, and I shall limit my comments in the same way.

² Cf. the following statement: "Lowes in *Rom. Rev.* 5, 368-85 may almost be considered wasted, seeing that probably Chaucer made *madame Eglyntyne* swear by this particular saint merely for the sake of the rhyme!" (Brusendorff, p. 483). Thus he disposes of a collection of associations which have appealed to many critics; note, e.g., Manly, pp. 213 ff., and Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 177.

³ Manly, p. ix.

his material will have, we may be sure, a permanent value. In my opinion we are not likely to get far from the theory that Chaucer was educated in the Temple, even though he fails to reflect much of that type of experience in his writings. Such a possibility alone is a sufficient answer to the perennial question as to the importance of research. In regard to that one need only consider what it means in the way of understanding the fourteenth century and Chaucer to see the "hard-working official" with such legal training behind him doing the Clerk's Tale, and the Prioress's Tale, and even the Man of Law's Tale, to "gratify his own inner impulses and the tastes and demands of his friends and associates."¹ One thinks of such a poem as the fragment of the Squire's Tale and the occasional charge of naïveté which the poet still receives—a term usually implying a not wholly enviable simplicity, but as thus employed meaning, one is more than ever forced to think, spontaneity and freshness. From learning that the Man of Law was probably a Pynchbek we understand his preliminary remarks on poverty and avarice: he too attacks the very vice he uses. For a long time in reading certain passages of Chaucer we have suspected the presence of humor even when we were not sure of it, just as when one hears the voice of someone talking in the next room, and suddenly infers from the tone that the speaker is smiling. Getting at the facts about the life of the poet helps to reveal new flashes of irony in his work and thus to enrich our impression of the complexity of his art.²

But Professor Manly's case needs no support here. On the contrary one is more likely to wish that he might be temporarily overcome by a period of harmless amnesia, and attack his own theories with the same acumen (and courtesy) with which he has pursued those of other scholars. Security in his suggestions is not entirely possible until the same ruthless truncheon as that which destroyed the greenery surrounding Our Lady of the Daisies falls again on his own reasoning in the present book. It is easy to imagine his pointing out the fallacy of arguing from a vivid or a realistic detail in the "character" of a Pilgrim to a real detail: reminding us that because the Pardonner has glaring eyes one is not thereby justified in identifying him with a real fourteenth-century pardoner in London. Dr. Curry has had something to say about that. Or instead of using the physiognomists Chaucer had other resources. Cressid's joined eyebrows were a literary heritage (although, it is only fair to add, so apparently were some of the features of the Duchess Blanche). When John Earle described his "Plain Country Fellow" as living in a habitation with a poor thatched roof "distinguisht from his barn by the loope-holes that let out smoak," did he refer to a particular country fellow of his day? Or did Chaucer simply borrow traits here and there to give us "individualized conventions," while we "chase fatuously the will-o'-the-wisp

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

² There is also, of course, in Professor Manly's contribution the added interest of such facts as those about the probable sister-in-law, Elizabeth, the daughter of the same name, and associations with the county of Kent. Many well-known details become strung together with a new significance in this way.

of personal identification"?¹ Personal allusions as well as literary sources may be based after all on coincidence, as we have learned in relation to the source of Shaw's *Pygmalion*.

Authors themselves are often discouraging when approached on this subject, and good reason to doubt has been brought forward in the case of many identifications made with confidence before this. Some people who knew Jane Austen's family slightly surmised, we are told, that the two elder Misses Dashwood in *Sense and Sensibility* represented the author and her sister; but the idea did not find favor with others more intimately connected. Charlotte Brontë is quoted as having denied that Caroline Helstone in *Shirley* was intended for a presentation of Miss Nussey. If mistakes in identification can thus be made at short range, how much more likely are we to err in our inferences after many centuries! Moreover, borrowing characters is one thing, but giving them in a form intended to be recognized is another. If Chaucer was punning on the Man of Law's name in the Prologue, and thus identified him, why did he assign to him the story of Constance? If the Host and the Merchant were well-known figures, what about their wives? If the allusion was to be carried all the way, what malicious gossip was this at Court about rancorous wives! One is almost led to believe that with personality so much in the air, Sir Thopas was meant to be regarded as a hit at Sir Payne Roet in some early exploit! Since Professor Manly's suggestion of a model for the Knight was offered several years ago, other candidates have made their appearance; and it seems likely that the same thing may occur again with reference to some of the other characters discussed in the present book. Occasionally in proving such a case up to the hilt, the real point becomes lost. After all, if Chaucer's characters are in no way creations, the less Chaucer he!

But that he drew some material from life is certain, and much more than the name of the Host and the ship of the Shipman. The tribute to the poet remains that these figures look like portraits. Even the Monk is consistent, I find.² For in the Prologue he lives on the luxury of sensations, and in his story he gives his feelings still wider play. His story, in fact, explains why he ever became a monk. At the very least Professor Manly's study gives us a much richer background for all the Pilgrims, and one only wishes he had seen fit to publish his documentation as a fuller guide to the nature of his evidence. In any case the number of dependable conjectures in his book is probably large; and one would hardly be surprised if told that it is greater than that

¹ See F. Tupper, *Types of Society in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1920), pp. 16-17. Cf. Tupper on the Physician (pp. 45 ff.). Contrast Manly (p. 200): "As to the Merchant's name, I agree with Professor Knott that Chaucer's profession of ignorance was due to policy"—and Tupper (p. 17): "If the interest in the specialized type is keener than in individuals of the profession or trade, why humanize the figures by giving them other than type-names? So doubtless reasoned Chaucer when he refrained from christening many of his pilgrims. . . ."

² Cf. Manly, pp. 261 f.

of the positive findings in Dr. Brusendorff's. It is scarcely too much to say that Dr. Brusendorff attacks all the main tenets in the field, and finds many of them impossible. He casts doubt on the commonly accepted dates for the *Legende of Good Women*,¹ on Professor Root's theory regarding the manuscripts of the *Troilus*; on the now rather respectably mature theories regarding the composition of the *Romaunt of the Rose*; on the authenticity of the Envoy to *Truth*,² on the idea that the Canon and his Yeoman were not an after-thought of Chaucer; on many other theories, and even on that of the exact date of the poet's death. Occasionally his judgment commends itself to us: as in his argument that Thomas Chaucer was the poet's son; that again for the authenticity of the *Retraction*; or that which disposes of Langhans and Lange on the subject of the Prologue of the *Legende*,³ and that for reading more than plain allegory into the *House of Fame*. But the chief impression he leaves is that of being liberally destructive.

It would be fortunate if Dr. Brusendorff could be as free in attacking his own ideas. So many critics have felt convinced that the *Parlement* was an allegory for Richard and Anne, and then have changed their minds! What is tantamount to a demonstration so often dissolves into nothing at all when a better theory turns up. One fears that this process will soon be at work on Dr. Brusendorff's argument at this point—in his acceptance of the old idea of the *Parlement* (though he puts its composition conveniently *after* the marriage)⁴ and in his interpretation of the *House of Fame*. An example of his dangerous facility, in another connection, may be cited. Speaking of *Truth*, he remarks in one place that "Chaucer's poem must be later than the passage in Gower, if we accept—as I think we ought to do—Shirley's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Balade* on his death-bed";⁵ then later he says, "Our belief in a revision of the poem need of course not be overthrown by Shirley's account of its composition. . . . This statement is rejected by nearly all Chaucer scholars, though nothing can really be urged against it; naturally it does not imply that the poem was written in the very throes of death, but simply that it was composed during the poet's last illness, which may well

¹ Brusendorff, pp. 138 ff., 490 ff. He seems to neglect the problem of *Cant. Tales*, B. 60 ff. so far as it bears on the date (cf. pp. 142 ff., esp. p. 143, n. 2); and I think he passes too lightly over the parallels with Gower and Usk (see p. 139, n. 4).

² Brusendorff, pp. 246 ff. As to his note on Sir Philip de la Vache, p. 249 ("there is not the slightest scrap of evidence to show that the poet was as much as acquainted with Sir Philip"), cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XL, 511 ff.

³ Cf. Brusendorff, pp. 138 f., n. 5; p. 139, n. 3.

⁴ Pp. 165, 289. But if this is the case, why does the poet stress the lady's original indecision? In fact, why does he offer a poem of congratulation in which doubt in the lady's choice seems to be almost the chief point? I think Dr. Brusendorff (p. 165, n. 1) underestimates the destructive force of Miss Rickert's article.

⁵ Brusendorff, pp. 204-5.

have been a long one," etc.¹ Similarly, Dr. Brusendorff seems to lose a little of his sense of proportion when, in urging the parallel of Froissart's *Temple D'Onour* to the *Hous of Fame*, he concludes: ". . . their similarity in plan and construction is so great as practically to prove interdependence."² Some other Court of Love poems are even closer in form to the plan which Chaucer has used.

The moral of the whole story, then, is perhaps that which Professor Manly has stated: "It may be freely admitted that all these new views concerning Chaucer's career are speculative, but it should be borne in mind that most of the current views are no less speculative, and that even if no certain conclusions can be reached, it is worth while to prevent speculation from hardening into accepted teachings."³ On the other hand, exactitude in such matters is an ideal to which we must hold all the more firmly because it is impossible to attain. With that clear one may go forward with more assurance. "Facts are dead and useless," he observes, "until we try to ascertain what they mean . . . Undoubtedly all of us do, privately and with our intimate friends, form and try out hypotheses of interpretation for which we have often very scanty evidence. The main value of such hypotheses is that they make us alert to see the significance of facts which had previously passed unobserved or uninterpreted."⁴ One might almost suspect that here he is indicating a method for bridging the present unfathomable gap between scholarly and "literary" criticism. In this sense Dr. Brusendorff follows the older method, sometimes too falteringly, while Professor Manly, regretting that "those most familiar with the facts should leave the interpretation of them to others," offers reasonable space for freedom of conjecture. Only, we may add, one must employ the privilege with the same wisdom and sure touch, the same grace and clarity, as he himself has attained!

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Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Vols. I and II. *The Man and His Work*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1925.

The first two volumes of the new Oxford edition of Ben Jonson's works are devoted to an account of the dramatist's life, reprints of documents that bear

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51. Another curious argument is found in the inference from Lydgate's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Legende* "at the request of pe queene." Dr. Brusendorff says this "must surely be allowed to settle the old question whether the queen, Anne of Bohemia, is represented by the Alcestis figure in the prologue of the *Legend*, or not" (p. 40). I am not perfectly sure that a comma does not belong after "question." One may forgive the typographical errors in the book, since, English though it is, it was printed in Copenhagen.

² P. 159.

³ Manly, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. ix f. This passage includes the final quotation above.

on it, and critical estimates of the individual works to be published in later volumes. According to the Preface, Professor Simpson has contributed largely to the factual material in the life of Jonson, has written the chapters on *Discoveries* and the *Grammar*, has gathered the list of "Books in Jonson's Library," and edited the various documents published in the first volume—*Conversations with Drummond*, the notes of Aubrey and Plume, "Memorandums of the Immortal Ben," "Letters," and "Legal and Official Documents." In its obvious textual care and accurate annotation the work of editing reveals the hand of an able and meticulous scholar. In spite of the extensive research of other students, especially in recent years, Simpson has also been able to add considerable definite information to what had previously been known of Jonson's life and his relation with his contemporaries. The valuable list of Jonson's books furnishes evidence of the attention that has been paid to even the smallest detail. To the works of Scaliger listed may be added the *Poeticae libri septem. Apud Antonium Vincentium. M.D. LXI* in the University of Chicago Library with Jonson's motto, *tamquam explorator*, in the upper right-hand corner of the title-page, apparently in his own hand.

The general account of Jonson's life and the essays on the individual poetic works, combining discussions of dates, occasions, and sources with studies of Jonson's technique and literary qualities, are the work of Professor Herford, and worthy of his critical gifts and the fulness of his study. The personality of Jonson, his creative gifts, his attitudes, his prejudices, his limitations, and his weaknesses are presented vividly and convincingly. The result is a sympathetic and constructive analysis that is generally excellent and frequently brilliant. The emphasis given, however, to Jonson's dominant personal traits, his outstanding literary qualities, and his dogmatism as critic causes Herford at times to obscure and even underestimate the range and complexity of the man and his work. Herford argues, for example (II, 237-45), that Jonson could not have written the extant additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* because he lacked the gift for such imaginative and emotional expression. As Greg has pointed out, there are many reasons for doubting Jonson's authorship of the additions. But his limitations should not in my opinion be regarded as one of them. That Jonson despite his lack of romantic sentiment had traits that might have made him a master in tragic scenes of passion and madness is indicated by his ability to see visions, his keen grief as a father, his tactless rage against hostile audiences and individuals, and the feeling that led him to drink the full cup of sacramental wine. Again Herford seems to me to underestimate Jonson as a thinker. He states that "there lay in Jonson's mind ethical ideas of immense potency and grip, though never by him brought into philosophic shape" (II, 370). But Jonson was primarily a satirist, and the satirist usually implies rather than states his ideals of conduct. Jonson has not expounded his philosophy systematically, but he seems to me to have

had a rather full theory of life and morals permeating his writings almost as thoroughly as do the critical ideas which he likewise failed to formulate completely in his extant work. His philosophy is like that of many of the humanists, a rationalistic one gathered from various sources and harmonized to solve the problems of conduct and to conserve the best religious, moral, cultural, and social traditions of upper-class society in the Renaissance. Though based on classical thought, it is, despite Jonson's devotion to the classics, a product of the sixteenth century as a whole with its blending of Aristotelian ethics, Stoic moralizing, Renaissance idealism, and other elements. But though the reader may sometimes question the emphasis laid on certain phases of the subject, no one can follow Herford through these two volumes without being stimulated and awakened to new perceptions of Jonson's significance.

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BRIEFER MENTION

The late Hugo A. Rennert of the University of Pennsylvania, who died before completing his seventieth year, was the dean of Spanish studies in America. His earliest work, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, was a Freiburg dissertation, later revised and extended in the edition of 1912. There followed numerous monographs and texts of early plays, lyrics, and ballads. As a collector of rare works of Spanish literature he was indefatigable. Professor Rennert will be best remembered for his *Life of Lope de Vega* (1904) and *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (1909). As a graduate instructor Professor Rennert succeeded well in inspiring his interests in others; he directed many dissertations, some of them distinguished. Rennert was a kindly man of social interests. His helpfulness extended far beyond his immediate group.—
G. T. N.

The letters of George Ticknor and William Prescott to Pascual de Gayangos have been edited in two separate volumes by Clara L. Penney for the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). The originals of these letters were presented to the Hispanic Society by Don Juan Riaño y Gayangos, late Spanish ambassador to the United States and grandson of the scholar who so generously aided the literary enterprises of the two great Americans. The correspondence is mostly of a business nature, but nevertheless fascinating reading to the specialist. One can watch the steps by which Ticknor conceived and accomplished his *History of Spanish Literature* and accumulated his precious library. Similarly we follow Prescott in his quest for historical sources. The latter's letters are the more attractive; Prescott gave free play to his generous emotions and exhibited more flight of fancy than did the reserved and inhibited Ticknor, hence a greater vivacity of style. But each is equally admirable in his way. It is wholesome for modern scholars to learn of the difficulties with which their predecessors contended. These two sailed uncharted seas; they had little to guide them. They lacked all facilities for work at home, except such as their private means afforded. Abroad they lacked bibliographical guides, and, so far as Spain was concerned, even booksellers' catalogues. They were forced to purchase books in a land with which the United States maintained no direct postal, telegraph, or express service. Under such circumstances an agent like Gayangos was indispensable. Much of the ordering of books and the choice of manuscripts to be copied was left to his discretion. One would be surprised that so much devotion could be purchased for the scanty wage which Gayangos received, were it not that the

same spirit of generous co-operation with their American colleagues characterizes most Spanish scholars of today. The large number of rare books to be had for trifling sums is what most arouses our wonder. Miss Penney's introductions and notes are readable, and competent as to scholarship.—G. T. N.

Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis died in December, 1921, at what seemed only the threshold of a career already marked by achievement. There now appears in her memory a notable and handsomely printed volume (*Medieval Studies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927) of which she would justly have felt proud.

Fourteen of the twenty-nine contributions to the work deal with her chosen Arthurian field, while all of them fall within the scope of the Middle Ages, with the sole exception of an article on Poggio's knowledge of Greek, by Miss Louise Loomis (pp. 489-512). Two noteworthy linguistic articles are included in the volume: one by David Blondheim on the Bible of Alva, from which he derives valuable "gleanings" for Spanish etymology; and the other by Antoine Thomas, who, with great severity toward his opponents, re-establishes Ménage's derivation of *chanpleure* from *chanter* and *pleurer*—a somewhat atrabilious vindication of seventeenth-century "common-sense." With contrasting sense of humor and his usual erudition, George L. Hamilton treats the cognates of the "peculiar growth of hair" (among them we are flattered to find the American *roach* and *roach-mane*) which was the royal mark of the Merovingians. In "Villon et Charles d'Orléans," Lucien Foulet writes convincingly of the dependence, literary and material, of the vagabond poet on his royal associate, while Raymond Weeks re-edits, from MS B.N.f. f. 837, the charming *Lai de l'Oiselet* [As a colleague points out, the punctuation at vss. 199-200 is hardly felicitous: *Li dolanz* must be the subject of *Vint avant*, the villain not the bird being understood. Cf. vs. 354, where *chetif et las* are again applied to the villain, and, for *dolant=cui deult*, see Tobler, *Mélanges*, pp. 60-61]. Mario Roques publishes the interesting correspondence between Karl Bartsch and Gaston Paris (1865-85); and Frank Patterson edits an English hymnal from Add. MS 34,193 (fifteenth century) in the British Museum. One would like to linger over Charles Grandgent's "Rime and Rhetoric in the *Divine Comedy*," not only because of the examples of Dante's concession to rhyme that it contains but also because of the mellow reflections of its scholarly author: "For the artist," says Professor Grandgent, "be he painter, sculptor, musician, or poet, the eternal problem is the adaptation of his concept to his medium: no work of art springs Minerva-like from the brain of its maker; it is the outcome of a series of struggles, compromises, and triumphs." Would that some of our facile "literary critics" might read and ponder these words!

As for the Celtic and Arthurian material in the volume, though there is nothing on Welsh proper, Old Irish is represented by the publication of three short texts: "The Birth of Brandub," from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, by R. I.

Best; "How the Dagda Got his Magic Staff" (from the same document), by Osborn Bergin; and a "Medieval Account of Antichrist," from the Book of Lismore, by Douglas Hyde. In "The Alleged Matriarchy of the Picts," J. Fraser circumscribes Zimmer's well-known contention on this subject and concludes (p. 412): "There is nothing in the list of Pietish kings to suggest that succession took place only through the female," though, of course, Bede does imply "that succession through the female was *allowed* (p. 409)." Even more definite is Ferdinand Lot's denial of the "Valeur historique de Gildas," a subject which I had the pleasure of hearing him discuss at the Sorbonne in 1907-8; but if Gildas is unhistoric, he is, as Lot points out, "romantic" and thus a worthy ancestor of Nennius and of Geoffrey! In the "Helgi Lay and Irish Literature," Eleanor Hull touches succinctly on Irish and Scandinavian cultural relations, while Henry J. Leach differentiates between "*Gibbonsaga* and *Partonopeus*," and J. Vendryès, with characteristic French charm, shows how Mellifont Abbey, in Ireland, is an offspring (in 1142) of the French Clairvaux, a significant piece of monastic history.

Coming to the Arthurian field proper, Eugène Vinaver and Friedrich Ranke separately elaborate two of Miss Schoepperle's views on the *Tristan*: the first by a serried argument in behalf of the "primitive character" of the limited love-potion, and the second by adducing the evidence of the Tristan ivory-carving at Leningrad (see Roger S. Loomis, *Rom. Rev.*, VIII, 196) to show that the "ambiguous oath" also belonged to the *Estoire*, a point which Miss Schoepperle's discussion had [wisely?] left open. As for the Grail, A. C. L. Brown, in the "Irish Element in King Arthur and the Grail," summarizes his articles in *Modern Philology*, Volumes XVI-XXII; in "The Identity of Brons," I myself seek to justify Nutt's view that *Brons*=*Bran*, through contamination, however, with the biblical *Hebron* (cf. Exod. 6:8); Miss Rose J. Peebles, in the "Children in the Tree," follows Miss Weston and Pauphilet (see now *Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal*, pp. 145 ff.) by studying the relationship of this incident to the Grail: the children, of course, are "symbols of life," and the material Miss Peebles collects is of prime importance for some future, thoroughgoing study on those folk-lore motifs that both underlie and have become attached to the Grail legend. On the other hand, "A Note on Punjab Legend," by Miss Martha Beckwith, though it points out some interesting analogues to the *Perceval* (*Peregrine*), does not get beyond ingenious conjecture; and E. Brugger's derivation of *Bliocadran* from *Blios Cadroains* (i.e., *Cardroains li Ros*; see the romances *Atre Perillous* and *Dur-mart*) likewise strikes me as suggestive but unconvincing. With respect to the prose-romances, the Nestor of Romance philology, Pio Rajna, once more raises the question of the authorship of the *De Ortu Walwanii* and the *Historia Meriadoci*: to him they seem written by different authors; the lamented J. D. Bruce shows how the motif of "Modred's Incestuous Birth," in the *Mort Artu*, is the logical development of a hint dropped by Wace, *Brut* (vs. 11460);

Mme Lot-Borodine writes a graceful but lengthy essay on Tristan, the "amant éternel," and his counterpart Lancelot, "l'amant tel qu'il doit être"; and Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis, in "Malory's Book of Balin," gives us a masterly study on the "art" of Malory, thus correcting Dr. Ella Vettermann (*Beihefte*, LX) in an important detail by revealing the whole irony of Balin's brief but bitter speech: "I am the prize and yet I am not dead." Finally, the unnamed editor of the volume, Roger S. Loomis, to whose devotion we owe the book, sets forth completely his now well-known views on the "Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena."

Few books of this type leave upon us an impression of unity, spun about a central thread, in this case the *Ambages pulcherrimas* of Arthurian story. Moreover, few can match it for scholarly performance in general. In both regards, the volume is a tribute to the ideals of Gertrude Schoepperle.—W. A. N.

If, as would seem to be the case, a marked improvement is noticeable in the editorial work which has been done in the last few years on English texts of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the credit is to be ascribed in very large measure to the "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" which Mr. R. B. McKerrow contributed in 1914 to the twelfth volume of the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*. The publication of that paper of 102 pages was an event of no slight importance in the technical education of the present generation of scholars in modern English literature. Not only did it put at our disposal a mass of precise information concerning the material features of early printed books and the processes of their production that was not easily obtainable elsewhere, but, what was more important, it gave to many of us, especially in America, our first real appreciation of the value which such information may have for the student and editor of literary texts. Our gratitude to Mr. McKerrow, in consequence, has been immense, and it seems destined to become even greater in the future, for he has now reissued his "Notes," considerably enlarged, in a volume of 359 pages entitled *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927).

All of the qualities which gave distinction to the article in the *Transactions*—an excellent choice of illustrations, a keen sense of the practical needs of beginners, above all a remarkable skill in the exposition of complicated technical processes—are, it is scarcely necessary to say, present in the new book. The general point of view remains the same:

It is not a hand-book for students of printing or of general bibliography. Still less is it intended for book-collectors. I have not concerned myself in the least with the rarity or beauty or commercial value of the products of the printing-press,

but have kept before me throughout the problem of the relation of the printed book to the written word of the author. So far as was in my power I have dealt with everything which seemed to me to bear on this relation or which could throw any light on the processes involved in the transition from MS. to printed book, for one never knows at what point the transmission may be affected by these processes; but I have not attempted to do more [pp. vi-vii].

An Introduction to Bibliography, however, differs from "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence" in at least three ways—all of them improvements. First, its scope is wider. The earlier work was addressed exclusively to students of the printed books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In his present book Mr. McKerrow has broadened his view so as to include the whole development of English book-production from the introduction of printing to about the year 1800, although the greater number of his illustrations are still drawn from the earlier period. Second, the arrangement of topics in the new book reflects a more careful and systematic analysis of the general problem than was visible in the "Notes." The volume is made up of three Parts and an Appendix. In Part I the production of a book is considered "mainly from the point of view of the *producers*, the compositor and the pressman." In Part II the completed book is studied with a view chiefly to showing how observation of its structure and peculiarities may enable us to reconstruct its earlier bibliographical history. In Part III we are given a brief discussion of the relation in which the text of a printed book may stand to the author's MS, with particular emphasis on the errors which may result from one or another of the operations which it has undergone. In the Appendix are assembled useful notes on a number of subsidiary questions "which could not be placed in the body of the book without causing tedious digressions." Finally, the reader familiar with the "Notes" will discover in the *Introduction* a very considerable amount of material which had no place at all in the earlier work. Of the twenty-three chapters which make up the body of the book, eleven are either wholly or in large part new. These are I, i, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi; II, i, viii; and III, i. Of the eight sections in the Appendix, only two (iii and v) had appeared in the "Notes." Among the topics which either are treated for the first time in the new edition or are discussed here with fuller detail, the most important are probably these: the question of the use of long galleyes in printing before 1800 (pp. 63-66); the history of signatures (pp. 74-81); "working with figures" (pp. 81-82); the development of the title-page (pp. 88-95); the "forms in which books have been issued to the public" (pp. 121-27); methods of bibliographical description (pp. 145-61); imposition and folding in duodecimos (pp. 168-73); the meaning of the terms "edition," "impression," and "issue" (pp. 175-80); methods of detecting cancels (pp. 222-26); the extent to which composition from dictation prevailed in the sixteenth century (pp. 241-46); the attitude of an Elizabethan printer to his

copy (pp. 246-51); abbreviations and contractions in early printed books (pp. 319-24); difficult Latin place-names used in sixteenth-century imprints (pp. 337-40); and Elizabethan handwriting (pp. 341-50), the last an excellent brief account, full of sound advice for beginners.—R. S. C.

An important publication is Charles Beaulieu's *Histoire de l'Orthographe française*, in two volumes (with a third in prospect), the first dealing with the formation of modern French spelling, the second with the accents (Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 366 and 134). The treatment is purely historical, but it is not impossible that the author's conclusions are expected to exert some influence upon the eighth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, which is nearing completion. It is to be hoped that this will be the case, for there is ample room for improvement in French spelling without shocking the habits of the unreflecting public or those of the reactionary printers.

Notable additions to our knowledge are to be found in this work. The author develops the thesis that the spelling of the twelfth century, being nearly phonetic, was wholly admirable. A detailed study is made of the well-known MS Bib. nat., f.f. 794, which contains poems of Crestien de Troyes transcribed by a certain Guiot, whose work, along with that of others, was highly praised by Gaston Paris. The script of this MS is worthy of the perfection of its language and of its spelling, says the author. But later, this desirable clearness and simplicity was sadly ruined by the Latinizing tendency, particularly as practiced by the legal scribes, the *praticiens*. Being paid by the piece, these legal gentlemen took every occasion to lengthen words by doubling the letters and by using archaic or etymologic spellings, so that Old French *chevax* became *chevaulx*, *peut* became *peult* (analogy of *veult*), and *deuoit* *debuoyt*, etc. The reaction in the sixteenth century against this abuse was strong, but, not being organized, failed on the whole to secure due recognition when the first edition of the *Academy Dictionary* was in preparation. Here, M. Beaulieu makes a careful and detailed study of the Robert Estienne-Nicot dictionary, which was in the hands of the first academicians. He also traces the influence of the literati like Ronsard, who as the friend of Louis Meigret was at one time in an extremely liberal and reforming frame of mind; also that of the Elzevirs and other Dutch and Flemish printers. Some review is made of the successive changes in the later editions of the *Academy Dictionary*, but details are reserved for a future volume.

The author handles a vast amount of detail with accuracy and intelligence, he draws upon excellent sources for his information, and for the first time he has given us a connected survey of the whole subject. Hitherto, indeed, students have had to be content with an essay by Gaston Paris (a review of Firmin Didot's *Observations sur l'Ortographie*, of 1867) and with such materials as could be gleaned from Brunot and Nyrop. For the volume on the accents, mention might have been made of Schinz's survey (1912), *Les*

Accents dans l'Écriture française, which, though radical in some of its proposals, contains material of value. One may express the wish that the concluding volume might furnish a bibliography of the subject, and one which would not ignore the extensive literature of the reform movement, in which so many prominent French scholars have taken an active part.—T. A. J.

J. H. Fabre, in a chapter of his *Souvenirs entomologiques* (V, xiii) entitled "La Cigale et la Fourmi," shows that the life and habits of the cicada are almost totally different from those described by La Fontaine in his famous first fable. Fabre believes the fabulist had the grasshopper in mind. This is consistent with a statement in the *Grande Encyclopédie* that in Northern France the *sauterelle* is often called *cigale*.

This confusion of identity of the two insects goes back, according to Fabre, to Aesop, or to whoever it was that was responsible for the Greek version of the fable. Fabre's theory is that the fable is of Hindu origin, and that whatever the insect may have been originally, its habits were in accord with the description given; that when the fable was transported to Greece, the identity of the insect became shadowy, or lost, and the Greek writer or oral translator arbitrarily chose the word *τέττιξ*, or *cicada*, whose habits are precisely the opposite of those described by La Fontaine.

Many editions of Greek authors erroneously translate *τέττιξ* by 'grasshopper,' instead of 'cicada,' but the *ἀκρίς* of the Septuagint and of the New Testament is translated by 'grasshopper' or 'locust,' and correctly so. Pliny (XI, 92-95, 101-7) made a distinction between these two insects, describing their appearance and the terrible ravages of the locusts, and mentioning one thing they had in common: they were both used as food by the Parthians. Aristotle, continues Fabre, also speaks of the *τέττιξ* as serving as food, and we have biblical references to locusts being eaten: in Matt. 3:4 the food of John the Baptist is locusts and wild honey. Here the Greek word for locust is *ἀκρίς*; the Vulgate translates consistently, *Esca eius erat locustae*. Again, in the Septuagint we have *ἀκρίς* in the story of the plague of locusts in the tenth chapter of Exodus, but the same word occurs with the translation 'grasshopper' in Eccles. 12:5.

Thus, the mistaken identity of the improvident insect of "La Cigale et la Fourmi" goes back to the *τέττιξ* of the Greek version, and it is not surprising that this confusion became in time more firmly established, for more than thirty authors before La Fontaine had dealt with this fable. Avianus (see Ellis' ed., p. xxi) continues the tradition of the Greek *τέττιξ* in assuming that the insect is the cicada.

If, then, according to Fabre's theory, La Fontaine had in mind the grasshopper or *sauterelle*, although he used the word *cigale*, the interpreter of La Fontaine is faced with the question of the proper translation of *cigale*. In the annotated texts thus far examined 'grasshopper' is the usual rendering.

Both Greek and Latin dictionaries give among their English translations of *τέρτιξ* and *cicada*, 'a kind of grasshopper.' But the French and English dictionaries make the distinction emphatic between 'cicada' and *cigale* on the one hand, and 'grasshopper' and *sauterelle* on the other. Consequently, what is apparently needed in every edition of La Fontaine's fable is a note on *cigale*, giving the correct translation but suggesting the grasshopper as the insect La Fontaine had in mind.—ROY TOWNE.

Handleiding bij het Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsch Dialectonderzoek, door Dr. L. Grootaers en Dr. G. G. Kloeke. Met een kaart. (*Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche Dialectbibliotheek* onder Leiding van Dr. L. Grootaers en Dr. G. G. Kloeke, Deel I.) 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926. This excellent manual contains a history of Dutch dialect studies—northern dialects (pp. 1-26) by Kloeke, southern (pp. 27-56) by Grootaers—with bibliography. The former author makes a strong plea for support of dialect studies (p. 17) and demonstrates by a simple arithmetical calculation the need for large-scale co-operative work (p. 23). The sketches contain many a useful hint on method. Then comes an article on the linguistic map of the Dutch speech-territory (which is attached to the book), and a systematic list of place-names, followed by an alphabetic Index, for each of the two districts, north and south. Altogether, a most useful contribution.—LEONARD BLOOMFIELD.

DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

BOOKS BORROWED BY COLERIDGE FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN, 1799

The publication of the following list of books borrowed by S. T. Coleridge from the library of the University of Göttingen has been made possible through the courtesy of Professor Hans Hecht and the Librarian of the University, who gave me access to the library registers for the year 1798-99, and through the special assistance of Dr. W. Buddecke of the library staff, who gave indispensable aid in deciphering the abbreviated manuscript entries and checking them by the library catalogue. An important statement about the general character of the books Coleridge drew from the library has been made by Dr. H. Nidecker of the University of Basle,¹ but the publication of the complete list has seemed highly desirable in view of the help derived by Coleridge students from Professor Kaufman's list of the books borrowed by Coleridge and Southey from the Bristol library.²

The Göttingen registers show twenty-one entries bearing Coleridge's name.³ These are scattered through the two volumes, Register B for the period October, 1798, through February, 1799 (designated in the following list as Register I), and Register B for the period April through August, 1799 (designated as Register II). No records exist for March, evidently a vacation month. The entries were arranged alphabetically (according to the initial letter of author or title, not borrower) with a subclassification by months. In listing the Coleridge entries below I have followed chronological order, and have given: first, a reference to the location in the register (initial letter and date); second, the entry exactly as it appears in the register, usually in very abbreviated form; and third, a fuller statement of author, title, and edition, as these have been finally identified.

¹ "Notes marginales de S. T. Coleridge," *Revue de littérature comparée*, VII (1927), 133.

² *Modern Philology*, XXI (1924), 317-20.

³ On Coleridge's privilege of drawing books from the Göttingen library see his letter to his wife, written March 12, 1799 (*Letters* [1895], I, 281). The University has no record of books issued for use in the library. It is of incidental interest to note that Coleridge's friend and chronicler, Clement Carlyon, was drawing books from the library at this same time. In the registers for the spring and early summer of 1799 I chanced on the following entries bearing his name: Ainsworth's *Dictionary*, Cicero's *De oratore*, Sir Charles Grandison, William Cheseelden's *Osteographia*, *Diiodorus*, volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Anglia* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Smollett's *Works*, and Richard Watson's *Chemistry*.

REGISTER I

1. Feb. 21, 1799. Letter P. "Proben alter Schwäb. Poesie."¹ *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des Dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Zürich, 1748.
2. Same date. Letter S. "Sammnung v. Minnesinger. bi 2." *Sammnung von Minnesingern an der schwäbischen Zeitpunkte*. 2 parts. Zürich, 1758, 1759.
3. Feb. 28. Letter M. "Michaeler tabulae Li. &c." Michaeler, Karl Joseph. *Tabulae parallelae antiquissimarum Teutonicae linguae dialectorum*, etc. Oniponte, 1776.
4. Same date. Letter W. "Wachter Glossar. Germanic." Wachter, Johann Georg. *Glossarium Germanicum, continens origines et antiquitates totius linguae Germanicae hodiernae*, etc. Leipzig, 1737.
5. Same date and letter. "Willenbücher Hauptv. d. Deutschen Sprache." Willenbücher, T. P. *Praktische Anweisung zur Kenntnis der Hauptveränderungen der Deutschen Sprache*, etc. Leipzig, 1789.

REGISTER II

6. April 1. Letter W. "Wartons English Poetry bi." Warton, Thomas. *The History of English Poetry*, etc. Probably Vol. I of the three-volume edition, London, 1774-81.
7. April 4. Letter M. "Mémoires de la Société de Cassel. b.i."² *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel*. Vol. I. Cassel, 1780.
8. April 6. Letter S. "Selchow Element. Juris Germ." von Selchow, J. H. C. *Elementa Juris Germanici privati hodierni*. Probably the 7th (1787) or 8th (1795) one-volume edition. Göttingen.
9. April 28. Letter P. "Peregrinatio Thesis &c."³
10. May 3. Letter C. "Charaktere der vorz. Dichter bi." *Charaktere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen; nebst kritischen und historischen Abhandlungen über Gegenstände der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften von einer Gesellschaft von Gelehrten*. Vol. I, Leipzig, 1792. (Nachtrage z. J. C. Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, etc., 1771, 1774.)
11. Same date. Letter M. "Museum deutsches. 3 voll." Probably *Deutsches Museum*, issued at Leipzig, two volumes a year, 1776-88.
12. May 24. Letter R. "Ranisch Lebenslauf v. Hans Sachs." Ranisch, M. Salomon. *Historisch-kritische Lebensbeschreibung Hans Sachsen*. Altenburg, 1765.

¹ For Coleridge's statements about his study of early German language and literature see chap. x of the *Biographia literaria* ([1817], I, 203-5), and his letter of May 21, 1799, to Josiah Wedgwood, published with omissions by Cottle and Turnbull, and more fully in R. B. Litchfield's *Tom Wedgwood*, pp. 68 ff.

² On Coleridge's visit to Cassel see Carlyon's *Early Years and Late Reflections*, I, 151 ff.

³ Careful work on the handwriting of the register convinces Dr. Buddecke that the foregoing reading is correct. He writes: "Wohl eine Reisebeschreibung oder eine Abhandlung über Reisebeschreibungen." Under the heading "Peregrinatio" in the Göttingen catalogue I found entries with cross-references to *Purchas: His Pilgrimage*, but none that served to identify the foregoing. The extent of Coleridge's interest in travel-literature has been interestingly demonstrated in J. L. Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu*.

13. May 25. Letter S. "Hans Sachs. ed Weller. 1-4."¹ Sachs, Hans. *Sehr Herrliche Schöne . . . Gedicht*, etc. Ed. Georg Weller. 5 vols. Nürnberg, 1558-79.
14. May 27. Letter S. "Sachsens Gedichte. b 5." (See above, item 13.)
15. June 6. Letter K. "Kindermanns Deutsch. W. redner ed. 2da." Kindermann, Balthasar. *Der Teusche Wolredner. Verbesserte Aufgabe*. Leipzig, 1688.
16. Same date. Letter R. "Ring. Reise des Zyricher Breytopfes." Ring, Friederich Dominicus. *Ueber die Reise des Zürcher Breytopfes nach Strasburg vom Jahr 1578*. Bayreuth, 1787.
17. June 7. Letter L "Lohensteins Gedichte &c." von Lohenstein, Daniel Gaspar. Probably *Ibrahim Sultan, Schauspiel; Agrippina, Trauerspiel; Epicharis, Trauerspiel; und andere Poetische Gedichte*, etc. Breslau, 1689.
18. June 10. Letter M. "Meisters Characteristik. b 2."² Meister, Leonhart. *Characteristik deutsche Dichter, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet, mit Bildnissen*. 2 vols. St. Gallen u. Leipzig, 1789.

¹ On Hans Sachs's "five folio volumes with double columns" see chap. x of the *Biographia literaria* (1817), I, 205. Inserted in the volume of selections from Hans Sachs to be found in the British Museum collection of Coleridge *marginalia* is a double sheet of paper bearing Coleridge's transcriptions from a fuller edition. The one page reference given ("il. 4. 3," for the lines entitled "The Pedlar") affords proof that he was transcribing from Weller's edition.

The fact that Coleridge used this five-volume edition at Göttingen throws some light, indirectly, on the question discussed by J. L. Lowes (*The Road to Xanadu*, p. 543) and F. W. Stokoe (*German Influence on the English Romantic Movement*, pp. 129-30), as to the identity of the Adam and Eve play that Coleridge said he transcribed from an old manuscript at Helmstedt. (For references to the play, by Coleridge, Lamb, and Crabb Robinson, see Lowes and Stokoe, *op. cit.*) Though Coleridge's description of the play would seem to justify the conclusions reached by Mr. Lowes and Mr. Stokoe, that it was Sachs's *Die ungleichen Kinder Eves*, it seems strange that he should have transcribed that play from a Helmstedt manuscript when it was already in print in Vol. I of the edition of Sachs that he used at Göttingen. It seems the more strange since his visit to Helmstedt appears, according to Mr. Lowes's interesting deductions, to have taken place after his Göttingen stay. I think it probable that the solution of the problem lies in the fact that Coleridge was confusing two different plays in his remarks on the subject. I believe that the play he copied from the Helmstedt manuscript was *Adams und Evens Erschaffung und ihr Sündenfall*. A transcription of this play, made by Coleridge, has been described in two booksellers' catalogues. In the catalogue of the library of J. H. Green, sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, July, 1880, the authorship of the transcribed play was ascribed to Klotz. In Scribner and Welford's *Catalogue of Scarce and Valuable Books*, issued in April, 1884, the same manuscript is described (item 24 of the collection of "Coleridgeana"): "MANUSCRIPT VOLUME IN QUARTO. Containing various notes, transcripts, etc., in Coleridge's Autograph, with others in a different handwriting. The following are all by Coleridge: Note on Unitarianism, one page; Adams und Evens Erschaffung und ihr Sündenfall, ein geistlich Fastnachtspiel mit Sang und Klang, 'transcribed June 17, 1799, S. T. Coleridge,' with the musical notes to the songs, 87 pages; Note on Christian Adolph Klotz, etc., 9 pages;" If this is the correct reading of the date of the transcription, and if the transcription was made at Helmstedt, the Helmstedt visit must have taken place during the last part of the Göttingen period. Perhaps this manuscript, which contains also a long section on *The Divine Ideas*, evidently written to Coleridge's dictation, may yet be traced. It is listed, without description, in the section of *marginalia* in Haney's *Bibliography*.

² The book contains chapters on a number of poets in whom Coleridge is known to have been interested, among them Hans Sachs, Lessing, and Gessner. For a list of references to Coleridge's proposed history of German literature and his proposed life of Lessing see Stokoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18.

19. Same date. Letter S. "Schmidts biograph. der Dichter, bi 2." Schmit, Christian Heinrich. *Biographie der Dichter*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1769.
20. June 15. Letter K. "Klotz Leben von Hausen."¹
21. June 16. Letter S. "Schutz über Lessings Genie &c." Schutz, Christian Gottfried. *Ueber Lessings Genie und Schriften*. Halle, 1782.

ALICE D. SNYDER

VASSAR COLLEGE

NOTES ON *L'AUBE ROMANTIQUE* OF P. LAFOND

Those interested in French Romanticism are acquainted with the collection of letters addressed to Jules de Rességuier by various contemporaries and published by Paul Lafond under the title *L'Aube Romantique* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1910.) A few corrections and additions (particularly, the dating of some of the letters) may be of some little value to whoever finds occasion to use this work.

LETTERS

Letter V. Date (late 1818).

From context, this letter seems to have been written shortly after Soumet's election to the Académie des Jeux Floraux, July 31, 1818, and before his installation, February 28, 1819.

Letter V. (July 31, 1820.)

Written the Saturday immediately after the arrival of Soumet in Paris.

Letter VIII. (January, 1821.)

Glorvina appeared in the *Conservateur littéraire*, January 20, 1821.

Letter IX. (February, 1821.)

Page 65. The *Éloge de Poitevin* by J. de Rességuier was pronounced at the Académie des Jeux Floraux, February 12, 1821; mentioned by Victor Hugo in the *Conservateur littéraire*, March 31, 1821.

Letter X. (Early April, 1822.)

Le pèlerin of Jules de Rességuier appeared in the *Annales de la littérature et des arts*, VII, Book lxxix, 11-12, April 6, 1822.

Letter XI. (April, 1821.)

Mentions last number of the *Conservateur littéraire* which appeared March 31, 1821.

Letter XII. (Early November, 1821.)

This explains (p. 70) the opportunity that Soumet gave Hugo to send Jules de Rességuier a set of the *Conservateur littéraire*; cf. letter of Victor Hugo to Rességuier, November 7, 1821, *Correspondance* (1815-35), pages 22-24.

Letter XIV. (Late March, 1822.)

"Le recueil de Vigny vient de paraître." This appeared March 16, 1822, not, as note (61), page 298, says, in 1821.

¹ See above, p. 379, n. 1, on manuscript reference to Klotz.

Letter XVI.

To fill the lacunae in this letter (p. 79) one should refer to the *Mercure de France*, XLIV (1902), 594, article by A. Praviel. There is also found there a variant for the first line of the last paragraph.

Letter XVII.

For complete text, see A. Praviel, *Mercure de France* (1902), page 595, and E. Biré, *Victor Hugo avant* (1830), pages 132, 138, and 237.

Letter XIX.

A variant for the last line of the second paragraph of this letter and complete text of the postscript are to be found in the *Mercure de France*, XLIV (1902), 598.

Letter XXII. (September 8, 1822.)

"Hugo m'a montré avant-hier votre dernière lettre" (p. 87). Hugo's letter to Jules de Rességuier (XX) is dated September 6. Soumet's letter (XXII) was written before his appointment as librarian at Saint-Cloud, September 11, 1822.

Letter XXV. (November, 1822.)

"Ma débauche de gloire" refers to Soumet's double success, *Clymentnestre* and *Saul*, November 7 and 9, respectively.

Letter XXXI. (July 22, 1824.)

J. Dedieu (*Revue des Pyrénées* [1913], p. 212, n. 3), thinks that this important letter was written in June. I feel certain, however, that it was written after July 12, date of the letter of resignation from the *Muse française* by E. Deschamps, Soumet, Guiraud, and Rességuier to Hugo (*Odes et ballades* [éd. de l'Impr. Nat.], p. 554) and before Victor Hugo's letter to the *Journal des débats* and the *Quotidienne*, July 28, 1824.

Letter XXXIII. (Before 1820.)

Soumet still at Toulouse.

Letter XXXIV. (Mid-July, 1823.)

Soumet explains the delay in the appearance of the first number of the *Muse française*, announced for July 15, 1823.

Letter XXXV. (Shortly before March, 1825.)

Jeanne D'Arc, tragedy by Soumet, was performed March 14, 1825.

Letter LXXX. (January, 1826.)

The *Moniteur universel*, January 29, 1826, mentions Soumet's name among those who received pensions.

Letter CLXXIX. (Late 1819—early 1820.)

"J'ai terminé mon *Oreste voilé*." This was the original title of Soumet's *Clytemnestre* which was begun in the summer of 1819 and completed before he went to Paris in July, 1820. From the notes connected with this letter, we

see that Lafond (after Douais) considered it written in 1840. Note (275), page 343, "allusion à la Divine Épopée" is absolutely incorrect; the passage in question is only an allusion to his reading in Milton. Note (276) cites part of a letter published by C. Douais in *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses*¹ (*Lettres au Baron Guiraud*, III, 202-3), in which Soumet tells of beginning an *Oreste voilé*. Douais dates this letter 1840. But in it Soumet mentions *Lara* (appeared in 1814) and Jean Sbogar (1818) and speaks of Byron as if he were alive. (Byron died in 1824.) From other internal evidence and our knowledge of Soumet's life during these years, it seems quite certain that this letter was written in the summer of 1819 and describes the genesis of Soumet's *Clytemnestre*.

Letter CLXXXI.

Page 251. For "La Rochette" read "La Rochelle" wherever it occurs in Soumet's letters. This was where Soumet's daughter, Mme d'Altenheym, lived.

NOTES

(26), page 292: Soumet was elected to the Académie Française July 29, 1824. November 25 was the date of his reception.

The date of his reception into the Académie des Jeux Floraux was February 28, not June 23, 1819. Very possibly Lafond took this mistake from A. Duboul, *Deux siècles de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux* (Toulouse: Privat, 1901), II, 179.

(74), page 300: read "1822" instead of "1823."

(134) and (135), page 312: The piece mentioned by Louis Belmontet in his letter as *La fête sous Néron* was performed at the Odéon on December 29 (as in this note, all editions of the work give 28, incorrectly) and printed (three editions in 1830) as *Une fête de Néron*.

Perhaps it was a reminiscence of the note in Lafond that caused J. Giraud to name Soumet's tragedy *Une fête sous Néron* on page 196, Volume II, in the *Histoire de la littérature française* of Bédier and Hazard.

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THE IDEAS OF THÉOPHILE GAUTIER'S *L'ART*
EXPRESSED IN PROSE IN 1841

In 1841, Théophile Gautier had already expressed in prose what was later to be found in these stanzas of *L'Art* (1857):

Lutte avec le carrare,
Avec le paros dur
Et rare,
Gardiens du contour pur; ...

¹ Paris: Picard, 1899. 3 vols.

Tout passe.—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité.
Le buste
Survit à la cité ...
... les vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus forte que les airains. ..."

The prose passage in question follows:

Le vers est une matière étincelante et *dure* comme le marbre de *Carrare* qui n'admet que des lignes *purs* et correctes, et longtemps méditées. L'on a dit que la peinture était sœur de la poésie, cela serait plus vrai de la sculpture; en effet, le poète et le statuaire cachent dans une forme réduite d'énormes travaux d'idéalisation: ni l'un ni l'autre ne peuvent se passer de dessin, la couleur peut pallier les défauts du prosateur ou du peintre, mais en poésie et en sculpture il faut le style et la perfection de chaque chose. Toute statue qui, brisée en morceaux n'est pas toujours admirable, ne vaut rien; tout poème dont une dizaine de vers pris au hasard ne font pas dire de l'auteur qu'il est un gran poète, peut être considéré comme non avenu. Quand l'on écrit des vers, il faut songer que ce seront peut-être précisément ceux-là seuls qui resteront dans mille ans, car on ne retrouve de toute civilisation disparue que des fragments de statues et des lambeaux de poèmes,—du marbre et des vers!

(*Revue des deux mondes* [article on *La Divine Epopée* d'Alexandre Soumet], 1 avril 1841, p. 126.)¹

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¹ H. E. A. Velthuis, in her doctoral dissertation, *Théophile Gautier, L'Homme—L'Artiste*, printed by G. W. den Boer, Hof-Boekdrukker, Middeberg (no date or publisher) (1925), pp. 150-51, cites the last lines of this passage (her reference to the page in the *Revue des deux mondes* is incorrect), but she does not point out its connection with the poem of 1857.

